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policy REVIEW

Spring 1990 Number 52 $4.50

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Conservatism for the Nineties

John K. Andrews Jr.
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Fred Barnes
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The Great Acid Rain Flimflam
Edward C. Krug

Abolish the Air Force?
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The Grim Truth About Gramm-Rudman

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The Battle for the History Books

Who Won the Cold War?

ADAM MEYERSON

The battle for the history books is beginning as the Cold War comes to an end. With the breathtaking liberalization in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, and now Nicaragua as well, Left and Right alike are rushing to take credit for changes neither really predicted, and to justify their earlier positions in light of what has happened.

Any effort to give credit in the West for the collapse of the Soviet empire must start with two important caveats. The first is that the timing and pace of liberalization have taken virtually all observers by surprise. Commentators across the political spectrum had long noted that the Soviet empire was overextended and in desperate economic straits, and that Bolshevism was exhausted as an ideology. President Reagan, of course, had predicted in 1982 that Marxism-Leninism would soon be littered on "the ash heap of history." Virtually no one, however, predicted ten, five, or even two years ago that in 1989 chunks of the Berlin Wall would be sold at Macy's, or that in 1990 Communists from Lithuania to Nicaragua would be defenestrated in open elections.

Blow to the Left

Both conservatives and liberals have grounds for humility here. The Left had so often exaggerated the extent of Soviet reform pre-Gorbachev that it was in a poor position to predict when the real thing would arrive. The Right, with some exceptions, underestimated the capacities for reform within the Soviet *nomenklatura,* and was probably even more surprised than the Left by the dizzying events of the past year.

As for Nicaragua, the international Left, and many liberals in America and Europe, had so romanticized the Sandinistas that they could not even conceive of a thumbs-down for Ortega. The shattering of their illusions about the popular authenticity of Sandinismo is the most devastating psychological blow to the Left since the Cambodian holocaust and the exodus of the boat people proved that the U.S. was right all along to fear a Communist bloodbath in Indochina. Conservatives were astonished as well, especially those who days before the Nicaraguan election were blaming the State Department for a sellout of Central America. In retrospect, it is clear that conservatives focused too exclusively on a military overthrow of the Sandinistas and gave insufficient attention to the diplomatic and election strategy that ultimately defeated them.

Gorbachev's Reluctance

The second caveat is that Gorbachev and his numerous allies in the Soviet leadership, especially the army and the KGB, have allowed reforms to take place. They have done so in response to popular pressures, and in the face of economic collapse. But the response of Gorbachev and his allies was not inevitable, and one need only look at the massacres in Tiananmen Square to imagine that the Cold War could still be raging with a different set of Kremlin leaders. As the recent carnage in Azerbaijan demonstrates, the Soviet Union still has the military and secret police capability to suppress internal dissent and to reassert domination from Leipzig to Tadzhikistan. Yet for some reason, whether out of a desire for Western bank loans, or from genuine moral compunctions, or out of a sense of the futility of trying to run a slave society in an economic world that depends on freedom, or ultimately out of a loss of faith in Communism as an ideology worth killing for, Gorbachev decided that in most instances he was no longer willing to use mass violence to suppress popular aspirations. This reluctance to shed blood distinguishes Gorbachev from Ceausescu and the brutes in Beijing, not to mention most of his predecessors going back to Ivan the Terrible and beyond. It represents a change of thinking, perhaps even a change of heart.

It is no coincidence, though, that the collapse of the Soviet empire occurred at the end of a decade of sustained conservative government in every major country of the Western world. From Ronald Reagan and George Bush to Margaret Thatcher to Helmut Kohl to François Mitterrand to Bettino Craxi to Yasuhiro Nakasone, the voters in every major Western election since 1979 have favored candidates more strongly committed than their opponents to Western military strength and vigorous market capitalism. These conservative governments also

ADAM MEYERSON *is editor of* Policy Review.

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adopted at crucial times two policies usually associated with liberals—a crusade for international human rights and democracy, and negotiations with the Soviets to reduce tensions. Without Western military and economic strength promoted principally by conservatives, however, the rhetoric of democracy and tension-reducing negotiations would have been ineffectual.

Bipartisan Containment Strategy

By and large, the NATO alliance has received strong bipartisan support in the United States for 40 years. And when, with the invasion of Afghanistan, the Soviets engaged in their most overt act of aggression in recent decades, liberal Democrats as well as conservative Republicans were quick to aid the mujahideen.

Nevertheless, credit belongs to conservatives for three features of foreign policy that were important in bringing the Cold War to a close. First, the Soviet ability to intimidate the West was greatly reduced during the 1980s because conservatives in both the U.S. and Europe defeated liberal opposition to higher defense spending and nuclear modernization. Second, the Soviet strategy of splitting the West failed because conservative NATO governments stood together, again over left-wing opposition, in confronting the Soviets over issues such as SDI and German Pershings. Third, the Soviet threat to America's own backyard was also contained when President Reagan, over bitter liberal opposition, stopped Communist advances in Central America.

Soviet "new thinking" was prompted not only by an inability to advance militarily, but by a period of prolonged economic crisis in the Soviet bloc coinciding with economic prosperity and rapid technological advance in capitalism. Policies to deny the Soviets credits and cutting-edge technology were useful in aggravating the breakdown of the Soviet economy. Probably even more important was the economic revival of the West from the stagflation of the Nixon and Carter years. The contrast between the stagnation of Communism and the vitality of capitalism has never been greater than in the past seven years.

Pro-growth policies of the past decade in almost every leading Western country—particularly tax cuts, deregulation, and resistance to protectionism—have been important weapons in ending the Cold War. Credit goes to the Right here, and especially to President Reagan, who became the international symbol of a return to market capitalism. The unclogging of "Eurosclerosis" and the spread of capitalist prosperity to East Asia, including China, has made the Soviets feel more encircled than ever.

The Liberal Contribution

The most important contribution of liberals to Cold War victory was their emphasis on human rights throughout the world. The AFL-CIO and European trade unions gave Solidarity the support it needed when the going was toughest. Amnesty International and other human-rights groups, politicians such as Edward Kennedy, and publications such as the *New York Review of Books* (though not the *Nation*), saved the lives of many dissidents by publicizing their plight.

Although human rights was initially the province of liberals, it was Ronald Reagan who became its most effective champion by emphasizing democratic institution-building. By the time Reagan left office, democracy had swept most of the Western Hemisphere and Asian countries from Pakistan to the Philippines to South Korea, starkly exposing the Communist world as the illegitimate exception.

People who called apartheid and Nazism evil laughed at Reagan when he talked about the "Evil Empire"; the laughter subsided when the crowds in East Berlin and Prague showed to all the world he was right. With his stirring rhetoric at Moscow State and at Fudan University in Shanghai, Reagan electrified the forces of dissent by voicing words of liberty never before spoken in the citadels of Lenin and Mao.

The collapse of the Soviet empire occurred at the end of a decade of sustained conservative government in every major country of the Western world.

Reagan's contribution to democracy in Nicaragua is more ambiguous, because the strategy of Oscar Arias that led to the 1990 elections was an explicit rejection of U.S. Contra policy. The heroes of the Nicaraguan elections were the opposition parties, united for the first time against the Sandinistas, and the observers from the Organization of American States who visited almost every polling place and kept the vote-counting honest. However, Reagan's Nicaraguan policy helped in two important ways: the Contras stabilized fledgling democracies in the region by keeping Communism on the military defensive, and Reagan goaded Nicaragua's neighbors into action by putting a spotlight on Sandinista abuses that most Latins initially ignored.

Had the Nicaraguan opposition been united, had Latin countries and the international community insisted on free elections 10 years ago, Reagan's support for the Contras would never have been necessary. The U.S. had to step into the breach because Latins did *not* have a strategy for excising the Communist cancer in their midst. We could now be seeing a political maturation in the region, with Latins taking the lead in protecting and expanding democracy.

The Left predicted that Reaganism would lead to depression, tyranny, and nuclear holocaust. Instead, the '80s ended with prosperity in market economies, a worldwide movement to democracy, and the peaceful liberation of Eastern Europe. Somebody else besides Gorbachev needs some "new thinking."

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The Vision Thing

Conservatives Take Aim at the '90s

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Karl Zinsmeister

Reports of the death of the conservative movement are greatly exaggerated. The principles of Adam Smith, Edmund Burke, James Madison, and Abraham Lincoln preceded the Bolshevik Revolution and will survive its rollback. The modern conservative movement got its start in the Goldwater campaign, when liberals as well as conservatives were anti-Communists, so a hatred of Communism was never the defining feature of American conservatism. Nor was conservatism ever tightly consistent either in its philosophical underpinnings or in its policy prescriptions. The debates between libertarians and traditionalists in the pages of *National Review* in the 1950s and 1960s were as disputatious as any conflicts in the movement today.

In the following symposium, 39 conservative leaders address the question, "What should be the 10 most important foreign and domestic policy priorities for the conservative movement in the 1990s?" The answers reveal some important disagreements—*e.g.*, over drug policy, free trade, and the size and mission of the post-Cold War military. But there are also common policy emphases—empowerment of the poor, school choice, environmental protection through markets and property rights, SDI, continued tax reduction, limitations on congressional abuses of power. And there is general consensus that policy *per se* is limited in what it can do, that the most important battles ahead may involve the state of the culture and of the family even more than the state of the government.

John K. Andrews Jr.

President of the Independence Institute, a state think tank in Golden, Colorado.

Separate school and state. We need to desocialize America's learning industry at every level from preschool to graduate school.

Ensure rotation in office. We should limit congressional and judicial terms, and reassert executive power over federal employment—disestablishing the imperial class that has subverted our republican form of government in a creeping coup.

Decentralize, depoliticize, privatize. We need to work for the decentralization of power from the federal government to the states and from the states to localities. We need to depoliticize economic decisionmaking, and to continue privatizing the production of goods and services from every level of government back into the realm of voluntary activity.

Fight for economic liberty. We need to defend productive enterprise against punitive tax rates, burdensome regulations, deficit spending, currency manipulation, and other government mandates that interfere with the freedom of contract or the ownership and use of private property.

Provide genuine opportunity. We need a sweeping reform of public policies and the whole cultural ethos to help African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Native Americans recognize that genuine opportunity flows from individual liberties and responsibilities, not from group preferences and the victim mentality.

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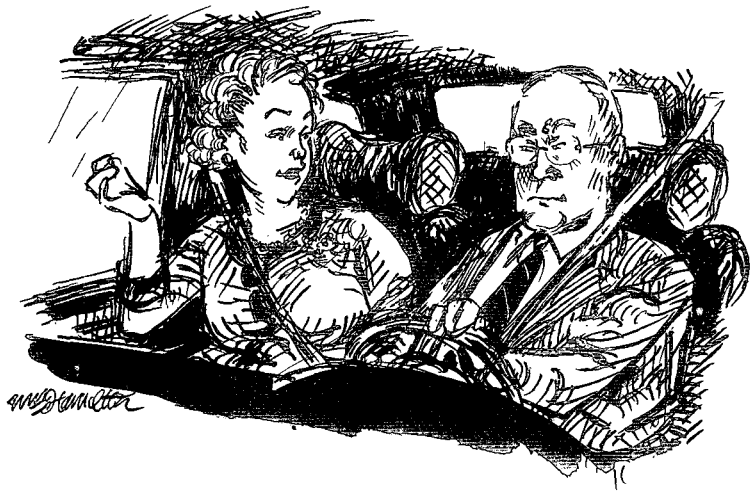
Restore environmental sanity. We need to take the offensive with free-market environmentalism, making the case that human and natural ecosystems are best protected through sound science, rational incentives, private ownership, and mechanisms to force recapture of external costs.

Jefferson yes, Marx no. By strategic practice and unapologetic advocacy we must hold out democratic capitalism as the only "other path" for those Second and Third World peoples now emerging from the Communist nightmare; there is no middle way.

Create an open world. We need to push for a global standard of open borders for the movement of trade, travel, capital, migration, and ideas—maintaining uncompromising resistance to the tide of neo-mercantilism and xenophobia.

Build a commonwealth of freedom. We need to evolve the Western alliance into a new commonwealth of free nations taking its place alongside, and ultimately succeeding, the morally bankrupt United Nations and related organizations.

Be happy at home. As free men and women we must continually reimmunize our individual consciousness against the mesmerism of political utopia, primarily orienting ourselves to the vitality of family and community and the authority of God—that sphere we mean to protect by secondarily involving ourselves in public policy.



"How does it feel to be one of the last hard-liners still in place?"

Drawing by William Hamilton, ©1989 The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.

Dick Armey

Republican congressman from the 26th district of Texas; architect of legislation to close obsolete military bases.

Conservatives led an intellectual revolution in the 1980s, demonstrating beyond refutation the moral superiority of the free economy over statism. In the 1990s we must continue the revolution and apply that insight to the parts of our society still under inordinate government control.

Bring the free market to health care. Even though America's health care system is largely in private hands, market forces are not allowed to do what they do best: keep costs low and quality high. When a person's medical bills are paid for by his employer's health plan—the most common arrangement in this country—he has little incentive to seek the best price for his care. Doctors and hospitals then have little reason to hold down costs. As a result, our nation's health spending is galloping upward, and millions of Americans cannot afford health insurance. Conservatives should construct a market-oriented health care system along the lines suggested by The Heritage Foundation—transferring tax deductions for health care expenses from employers to individuals. Such a plan would give America the most modern, efficient, and humane health system in the world.

Get the government out of agriculture. Our farm economy is a glaring aberration in capitalist America. Although it is one of our largest industries, half of our agriculture is subsidized, protected, and otherwise controlled by the government. While we expect the steel, auto, computer, or any other industry to become *more productive,* our government is deliberately and perversely trying to make farming *less productive* by telling farmers not to farm. Many farm programs should be repealed; all should be reformed. Farm productivity would then leap upward, exports would increase, and consumer prices would fall.

Explore private retirement arrangements. Under the guise of helping people save for their retirement, the government takes 7.65 percent out of their paychecks in "Social Security" taxes and squanders the surplus on farm subsidies, pork-barrel projects, and other government programs. Although we should absolutely protect the benefits of those currently relying on Social Security, we should consider allowing younger Americans to save for retirement by investing in the private economy. Congressman John Porter's plan is a good idea to think about first. Given a choice between paying taxes and putting money in an IRA, most people would enthusiastically choose the latter.

Bring choice to education. One reason many of our public schools are of low quality is that they are monopolies: families have no choice but to send their children to the local school, regardless of its merit. Our schools need a healthy dose of competition. If we allow families to choose the schools their children will attend—and require schools to compete against each other for students—the quality of our school system would greatly improve and parents would have more control over their children's education.

Extend opportunity to the poor. Provided we let them, today's members of the "underclass" can use the free economy to rise from poverty, just as generations of immigrants have done. We should promote "urban

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homesteading" and allow public housing residents to buy their homes and experience the same pride of homeownership that other Americans enjoy. We should support enterprise zones, expanded earned income tax credits, a lower minimum wage for teen-agers, and workfare programs—all policies designed to help citizens rise from poverty by giving them opportunities rather than welfare checks.

Reduce government waste. We can lower the government's burden on the free economy by continuing the conservative war against government waste. Dozens of programs and regulations urgently require scrutiny—the maritime subsidies that allow our merchant marine to remain uncompetitive; the Export-Import Bank, which gives welfare checks to huge corporations; the Davis-Bacon Act, a government payoff to the construction unions; and the Economic Development Administration, which funds pork-barrel projects. We could also save billions of dollars by reforming the defense procurement system and, of course, closing more obsolete military bases. Ultimately, conservatives should secure a line-item veto for the president and a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution.

Fred Barnes

Senior editor of The New Republic.

Foreign affairs seem to be taking care of themselves, so I think we ought to concentrate on domestic ills in the '90s. Here are 10 things to do, all of them fully achievable in the next decade. I offer them in no particular order of significance.

Clean up college athletics. I love big-time college sports, but the system is deeply corrupt. College is a place for students, not everyone. If a student is qualified and also a gifted jock, give him a scholarship. If not, give him a job.

Double the size of the interstate highway system. Washington needs a bypass; I-95 should be widened along the East Coast; California requires more 12-lane roads. Our overburdened highways are economically ruinous, reducing productivity, and driving people crazy in traffic jams.

Build more airports. Again, the economy is suffering badly. Atlanta ought to have another airport north of town, Boston one to the west, Chicago to the south, *etc.*

Win the argument over abortion—philosophical, medical, moral—and forget about legislative wins. I think most Americans are pro-choice with reservations. They must become pro-life with few reservations if abortion is ever to be banned. That will take at least 10 years of intellectual, not political, struggle.

Create incentives for people to pull themselves out of poverty, but don't get your hopes up. Jack Kemp's conservative anti-poverty program is wonderful. It'll help millions. Millions more in the underclass, however, won't become middle class until they experience a values revolution. A religious revival would help.

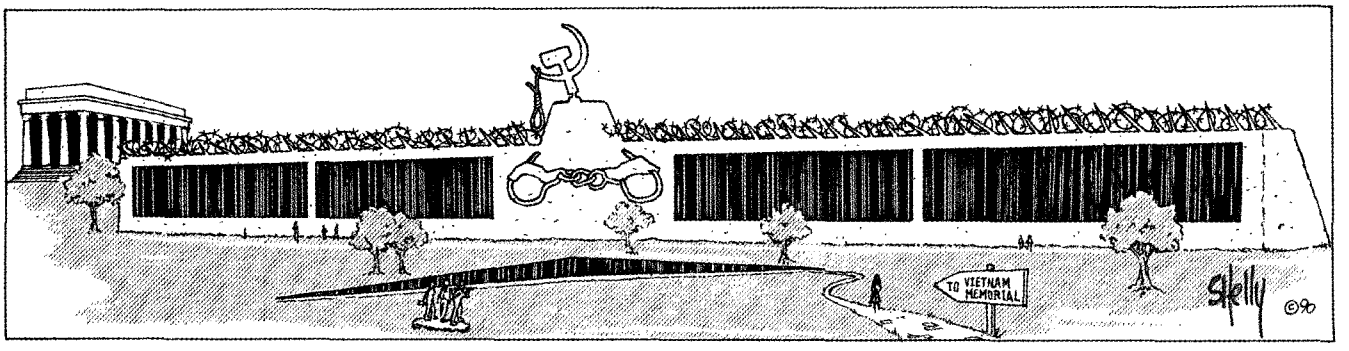
Close military bases; protect research and development. My fear is that Congress will keep all the antiquated bases (superfluous since World War II) and abandon military high-tech, which has a smaller constituency. We don't need Fort Ord. We do need the space program, SDI, and non-nuclear laser weapons.

Strangle the environmental movement. It's the greatest single threat to the American economy. It doesn't just include a few extremists. It is extremist. Even the mainstream environmental groups are. An intellectual war must be waged—and won—against these upper-class Luddites.

Cut the Social Security payroll tax. It's sinful and counterproductive to tax the lowest-paid workers at such high rates. It hurts small business. It's a tax on jobs. Besides, the surplus in the Social Security trust fund is far bigger than projected, thanks to Reaganomics. So cutting the payroll tax won't violate the 1983 Social Security accord.

Clean up and clean out Congress. It will take term limits—12 years in the House or Senate, max—to drain this swamp. The press pretends the scandals on Capitol Hill involve the private conduct of individuals. *Au contraire.* The scandal is the way Congress operates and what it does, without shame, in public.

Avoid an identity crisis over whether America is still a superpower, what the country's role in the world should be, why we must have a new overarching mission or vision now that Communism is collapsing. We don't need to be a superpower, only a country strong enough to defend its interests and nurture democracy here and there. If we're a bystander from time to time, or even often, fine. We've done six days of God's work. The '90s are the seventh day. Relax.



Drawing by Shelly Fischman

Erect a "Victims of Communism Memorial" on the Mall. —Lee Edwards

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Gary L. Bauer

President of the Family Research Council in Washington, D.C.; formerly undersecretary of education.

The goal of conservatism should be to protect human dignity against the therapeutic state and the elite that it serves. To point the way I suggest seven agenda items.

Protect the rights of parents. There are social theorists who consider the family a retrograde institution that should be replaced by the rule of "experts." This agenda is very strong in the movement for "children's rights," which always turn out to be rights against parents. Proposals to require "parenting licenses" are discussed seriously in major law journals. Ordinary parents have yet to realize the danger they are in.

The doors of the home must be a barrier against public authority. Exceptions may be allowed only for cases of *physical* abuse by parents, and then only with the full range of due-process guarantees.

Promote the pro-life agenda. Protection of the unborn is fundamental to conservatives' transcendent vision of human dignity. Where abortion-restrictive legislation is infeasible, government at all levels can treat abortion as undesirable activity, discouraging it through public-awareness campaigns, zoning restrictions, and a Missouri-style program of total non-participation by the state. It is important for pro-lifers to address the natural fears of women caught in an unintended pregnancy and to preserve the legitimate expansion of options won by women in recent years. For example, new pro-life legislation should contain provisions barring employers from firing female employees who are obliged to take time off because of an unplanned pregnancy; costs associated with childbirth should be taken into account in determining a woman's eligibility for student loans under the GSL program; and private rights of legal action against abortion clinics should be created by statute, to give redress to the thousands of women subjected to disease and trauma in such places.

Improve education. The linchpin of education reform is not more federal dollars for education bureaucrats. It is choice. Furthermore, the primary educators of each child are his or her parents. Vouchers notwithstanding, public policy must allow all schools to be responsive to parents, not to government. And the right of home schooling must be preserved and expanded.

Make adoption more attractive. Current government policy and social custom favor abortion as the primary response to unplanned pregnancy among the elite, and either abortion or single motherhood as the primary response among the poor. These priorities should be overturned, and adoption should be made the primary response to unplanned pregnancy in all cases—with abortion stricken from the list. There are no unwanted babies in America—only unwanted pregnancies.

Adopted children should be accorded the same status as legal children. Adoptive parents should receive the same tax breaks as natural parents. The neo-racist notion that children must always be placed with same-race adoptive parents should be overcome.

Many young women have bought the abortionists' line that a baby is better off killed by abortion than placed with loving adoptive parents. This morally perverse idea must be confronted and exposed, publicly and privately.

Photofest

The peace dividend should be returned to the people who won the Cold War—the American taxpayers.
—Phil Gramm

Develop a new anti-poverty agenda. The conservative war on poverty will make use of nature's own anti-poverty program, the family. Incentives for family breakup must not be merely eliminated, but reversed. Welfare benefits should be higher—not lower—when a man is permanently present in the household, and higher still if he is married to the mother-recipient. Benefits should be withheld from minor girls who do not live with at least one parent or guardian.

No-fault divorce is a proven contributor to female poverty. States should move to restore a fault-based divorce regime.

The welfare bureaucracy, which makes its living off the continuation of the problems it is supposed to solve, is part of the problem. Job appointments in governmental poverty-relief agencies should be subject to annual renewal based on the number of cases gotten off the welfare rolls and into jobs.

Provide tax relief for families. As a vital adjunct to a new anti-poverty agenda, we must show due regard for the sacrifices that families make in raising the next generation. The dependent exemption should be raised to the value it would have if it had kept pace with inflation—around $6,000.

Tax-code biases against mothers at home—such as the child-care tax credit, which results in net wealth transfers from poorer, traditional families to more affluent, two-income families—should be eliminated. Any proposal, such as the ABC bill, which would have traditional families subsidizing the child-care arrangements of higher-earning yuppies, should be fought to the mat.

In short, we must cease to conduct the war on poverty by a strategy of transfer payments to poor individuals, and switch to a strategy of empowering families to fulfill their natural nurturing and wealth-generating functions.

Reform Congress. The entrenchment of interest groups inside the Beltway and the extreme professionalization of politics have dragged this nation far from

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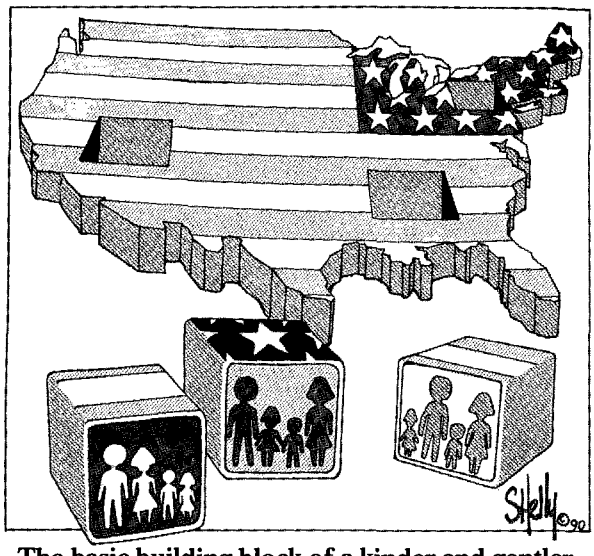

Drawing by Shelly Fischman

The basic building block of a kinder and gentler America is the family.—Adam Meyerson

the land of citizen-legislators envisioned by the Founding Fathers, and have isolated lawmakers from the practical concerns of the American family. To cure this problem, I endorse the growing call for limitation of congressional service to 12 years.

Tom Bethell

Washington editor of The American Spectator; *author of* The Electric Windmill.

Fight creeping socialism. Domestic policy objectives are more important than foreign ones. The decline of socialist ideology abroad should remind us that *de facto* socialism is still growing and flourishing at home. As Milton Friedman pointed out in the *New York Times,* spending by government in the U.S. amounts to about 45 percent of national income. "By that test," he said, "the United States is now 45 percent socialist."

The first goal of conservatives should be to shrink this percentage to something more reasonable. The problem is that tens of thousands of people across the land, many of them in Washington, enjoy the opportunity to spend other people's money and be called compassionate for doing so. The federal government alone now captures up to $1.2 trillion and stashes it in a common pool inappropriately called "the budget." At the poolside, 535 congressmen and senators enjoy siphoning privileges. By forming coalitions with one another, they can form majorities and siphon benefits back home to the people who vote for them and support them with money. A primary goal of the conservative movement should be to delegitimize this income redistribution by showing that it is driven more by greed than compassion.

Privatize Social Security. It is an outrage that citizens should not be considered capable of taking care of their own retirement, and should therefore be coerced into sending an increasing slice of their income to Washington every year, so that politicians can reap the benefit of redistributing it. As the decade progresses, the political balance will tip more and more in favor of privatizing savings. Conservatives should not fear tackling this issue. The post office and public housing should also be privatized, and farm subsidies ended.

Reform civil rights. The drift toward a society with built-in racial and ethnic entitlements has not been stopped. It should be a top priority of conservatives to keep stressing the all-important distinction between civil *rights* (which apply to all the people), and *privileges* (which apply to designated groups). We cannot expect new judicial appointments to solve this problem for us. It must also be tackled rhetorically, especially by the White House. Where appropriate, "civil rights groups" should be exposed as privilege seekers.

Deploy SDI. The next decade will see the retirement of the generation whose dominant military influence was World War II. Perhaps, 50 years after the event, we will at last be able to discard our World War II weapons (tanks, bombers, aircraft carriers) and move the military into the era of modern technology. And that means a Defense Department that defends. With nuclear and rocket technology proliferating to many countries, strategic defenses should be deployed as soon as possible, regardless of whether the Kremlin approves. The right to procure up-to-date weapons should not be traded away in arms control agreements (as has already happened in the INF agreement). Land-based missiles should also be junked.

Export capitalism. Perhaps the most important item on the foreign policy agenda will be to encourage free-market economies abroad. We can expect little help from the State Department or affiliated agencies. Conservatives must stress that aid shipped abroad does not "help" the recipient country. It has the opposite effect, enabling foreign governments to maintain socialist institutions that otherwise would be too expensive. Israel has been hurt, not helped, by foreign aid; we must avoid the same mistake with Eastern Europe. Liberal Democrats have not had to address this issue, because so many senior figures in the Republican Party (including, recently, Senator Bob Dole), have taken it for granted that aid really does aid. In the 1980s George Gilder and Charles Murray pointed out the harm caused by domestic welfare. In the 1990s conservatives should focus on the international version.

David Boaz

Executive vice president of the Cato Institute in Washington, D.C.

Rediscover the concept of limited government. William F. Buckley Jr. wrote in 1952 that the Republican Party should "acknowledge a domestic enemy, the state." In 1960, Barry Goldwater's *Conscience of a Conservative* denounced the Department of Agriculture, the welfare state, public power, public housing, foreign aid, and the $80 billion budget. Yet today conservatives seem to have made their peace with a $1.2 trillion federal government

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featuring five (soon to be six) more Cabinet departments than in 1960, more than $500 billion in transfer payments, and a network of regulations and subsidies reaching into every nook and cranny of American society. Conservatives should once again work toward limited, constitutional government—a federal government charged with the important tasks of defending the United States from military threats, securing justice, and providing those essential public goods (if any) that cannot be provided through the market. Valuable services, from retirement security to child-care to marketing research for businesses (the real point of the Census Bureau), should be handled by the private sector, not by Big Brother, and the conservative politician's chief concern should be, as Goldwater wrote, "Are we maximizing freedom?"

Develop a foreign policy of strategic independence. Following the establishment of NATO in 1949, the United States agreed to station troops in Europe as a "temporary" measure until Western Europe could get back on its feet. As with all temporary government programs, 40 years later the troops are still there, costing American taxpayers some $140 billion a year. Now, with the Soviet empire collapsing, it is time to redefine American security interests as the protection of the life, liberty, and property of American citizens in the United States. It is not the role of the United States to police the world or to spread democracy at the point of a gun. We need to maintain our nuclear deterrent, but we should bring the boys home and significantly reduce the size and expense of the armed forces.

Rediscover the original meaning of the term "strict construction." Twenty years ago, when conservatives talked about strict constructionism, they meant that if it isn't in the Constitution, the government can't do it. Today, under the tutelage of scholars such as Robert Bork, the meaning of "strict construction" has been twisted to the majoritarian notion that if an explicit prohibition is not in the Constitution, the government *can* do it. The Framers established a government of strictly limited powers to protect the rights of the American people—rights they had before the Constitution was drawn up and retained after it was ratified. Witness the Ninth Amendment. Conservatives should reaffirm that governments have only those powers granted in the Constitution and that judges are duty-bound neither to make law out of whole cloth nor to abdicate to legislatures, but to uphold the Constitution by striking down laws for which there is no constitutional justification.

Privatize education. Two of our most pressing national problems—international competitiveness and the tragedy of the underclass—are in large measure a result of our stagnant, bureaucratic educational system. Tax credits or vouchers to bring competition to our schools are the only ways to achieve real improvement. Unfortunately, educational choice has been tagged by the media as a "Religious Right" issue; choice advocates must play down the religious angle and find some secular humanist spokesmen. More diversity in education would also mean fewer students being indoctrinated by pro-big-government textbooks and teachers.

Recognize the failure, once again, of prohibition. Drug prohibition causes crime, corruption, AIDS, and the destruction of inner-city communities. The war on drugs exacerbates those problems and centralizes power in yet another federal agency. Conservatives, who know that government programs are often counterproductive, should lead the opposition to this failed policy.

Thomas J. Bray

Editorial page editor of the Detroit News; *author of editorials "Invade Grenada" (October 23, 1983, two days before) and "Invade Panama" (December 19, 1989, the day before).*

Adopt a flat-rate income tax system of 15 percent. Tax reform so far has only made the income tax code more complex. It's also becoming clear that this is the only way to get capital gains taxes down.

Privatize Social Security, as have a number of other countries, before it eats the working men and women of America alive. There is no hotter issue out here in the provinces among the middle classes—plus the underclass need jobs now. Social Security is a full-employment program for GM robots.

Before they reach maturity, about two-thirds of all American children will spend some time in a single-parent household. That is a competitiveness problem.
—Karl Zinsmeister

Privatize our bankrupt educational system. Employers need people who can read, write, and continue learning on the job. Public schools of choice would be a first step, but vouchers may be the only real answer.

Reduce barriers to immigration, so that we can import the energetic and brilliant people who will help create the jobs of the future.

Withdraw U.S. troops from Asia and Europe except for a few strategic bases needed as tripwires for continued U.S. involvement in world affairs. Use the peace dividend to fund a sharp increase in individual exemptions on income taxes.

Decriminalize most drug use and use this second peace dividend to fund cuts in city and state taxes, reviving urban economies and giving hope to a demoralized underclass whose only solace now can be found in dope.

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Require that government business be conducted in English only.

Forget about banning abortion. It ain't gonna happen. Besides, the French pill RU 486 will make the whole debate irrelevant. Concentrate on questions of parental consent, abortions beyond the first trimester, and policies that encourage adoption.

Reform the International Monetary Fund, whose devaluationist sorcery has brought misery on a tragic scale.

Do whatever it takes to hold the presidency, so that the conservative majority on the Supreme Court can be solidly entrenched.

SAM BRUNELLI

Executive director of the American Legislative Exchange Council.

Reaffirm the principle and practice of federalism. Federalism was reborn in the '80s. As a result of the success of the Reagan-Bush New Federalism and the inability of Congress to deal with the federal deficit, many critical policy challenges shifted from Washington to the states. Conservatives should rejoice in this trend. However, the principle and practice of federalism must not be entrusted to the shifting political and budgetary winds of Washington.

Re-ratify the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution. This amendment is the constitutional bulwark of federalism. Unfortunately, it is increasingly ignored by Congress and the Courts. State re-ratification of the Tenth Amendment would send a powerful, pro-federalism message to national leaders.

By the decade's end, statehood for Saskatchewan and open borders with Mexico should no longer sound preposterous.
—Mitchell E. Daniels Jr.

Americans care more deeply about what happens in their community than they do about what happens in Washington. By empowering state governments to manage and execute the broadest possible range of government programs, conservatives can recharge the engines of participatory democracy, allow the laboratory of new ideas to work, more effectively address complex social problems, and advance a proactive governing conservative agenda. All these things are possible in the states; none are possible in Washington.

Win the war on drugs and crime. The stakes are too high—in both economic and human terms—to abandon our war on drugs. To win it, we must concentrate our efforts on holding drug users accountable for their crimes, thereby deterring use and reducing the demand for drugs. But we must complement this deterrent with counseling and treatment, and the moral strength of communities, families, and churches to dissuade Americans from using drugs.

The war on drugs is part of a larger battle to control crime. Crime creates poverty: it robs opportunity and strangles hope. A conservative agenda for law and justice must first protect citizens from criminals by isolating violent felons from society and by imposing the ultimate sanction of capital punishment upon the most vicious criminals. This will require innovative, often private-sector, approaches to corrections management and prison construction and tests of a variety of alternative sentencing approaches for nonviolent criminals. It also requires a change in local and state policy priorities to ensure that resources are available to combat crime.

Educate our children. Our children deserve the best education possible. This means developing an ethos of achievement in our public schools, holding them accountable for educational results, and measuring their success by how well students learn and not by how much government spends. It means returning to basics and removing regulatory obstacles to innovative programs such as alternative certification of teachers, teacher competency testing, and school-based management. Above all, it means parental empowerment through school choice, because, in Martin Luther King Jr.'s words, the family "is the primary education agency of mankind."

Empower the disadvantaged. The welfare state robs its "beneficiaries" of dignity and enslaves them to dependency on government largess. Conservatives must offer an agenda of hope and opportunity to people who have been trapped in this way—one that rewards enterprise and extends to the poor an opportunity to escape from dependency. Such an agenda acknowledges our responsibility to those less fortunate and includes the expansion of the earned income tax credit, the transfer of public housing to tenant management and ownership, the establishment of enterprise zones to ensure that jobs are created in distressed areas, and the removal of regulatory barriers to entrepreneurship.

Ensure our continued economic growth. The truth of the conservative position on growth and taxes has been proven during the '80s. The battle for lower taxes and restrained government spending largely has been won in Washington. But it remains a critical concern because legislators in 30 states increased taxes and spending to record levels in 1989. The antiquated tax-and-spend style of government is alive and well in our state capitals. Conservatives must carry the tax revolt and our "no new taxes" pledge to the states.

Rebuild America. Repairing and rebuilding roads and bridges is a critical prerequisite for economic competitiveness and growth. Although capital investment by government is needed to repair and expand our national infrastructure, private enterprise can and should play a central role in capital formation and in building and

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No driver's licenses, student loans, or varsity sports for first-time drug users; no government contracts for firms without drug-testing programs; and no federal funds for colleges without drug-free campus programs for students and faculty.

—Pete du Pont

Photofest

Drug prohibition causes crime, corruption, AIDS, and the destruction of inner-city communities. Conservatives, who know that government programs are often counter-productive, should lead the opposition to this failed policy.

—David Boaz

maintaining our public projects. America also stands at the threshold of a new information age and needs a new telecommunications infrastructure.

Advance a conservative consumer agenda. By creating a business climate that encourages new product development and consumer choice, the conservative agenda *is* a consumer agenda. Unfortunately, we have forfeited the mantle of consumer advocacy to liberal special interests. The conservative pro-consumer agenda includes advocacy of consumer choice between fault-based and no-fault auto insurance (preferable to liberal calls for mandatory rate rollbacks); reform of tort law to ensure that new product development is unimpeded and that American industry remains competitive; and reviews of state health insurance mandates to contain the soaring cost of health insurance.

Preserve our land, water, and air. Environmental degradation is caused not by inherent flaws of the free market, but by the failure to integrate natural resources into the market system and to protect property rights. Conservatives must halt their retreat from the environmental debate, and stress policies that place the burden for repairing environmental damage on polluters, not on innocent taxpayers.

Privatize. The demand for public services remains strong while the supply of public resources is seriously limited. All too often, government reaction to these fiscal challenges has been to raise taxes. There is, however, an alternative. Through privatization and competitive contracting, government can continue to provide services without raising taxes. Among services that are ripe for privatization are mass transit, corrections management, airports, prison construction, public health, roads and bridges, solid waste collection, and public building maintenance and operation.

Allan Carlson

President of the Rockford Institute in Illinois; author of Family Questions.

Cut federal taxes for the sake of children. While any real tax cut benefits local and private life, creative cuts targeted for children may offer special political appeal and would help restore some autonomy to families. Beyond proposals to universalize the child-care tax credit or double the personal exemption for children, conservatives might urge a new $1,000 tax credit per child, applied against the family's payroll tax liability.

Privatize the family. The American welfare state has usurped large portions of the private family economy, ranging from old age security to decisions on the training and rearing of children. Steps toward privatizing the intergenerational family would include alternatives to Social Security, lower inheritance taxes on family businesses, the deregulation of cottage industry and the labor of youth, and the restoration of parental control over teen-age sexuality.

Restore meaning to American citizenship. Low voter turnout is merely a symptom of the diminished content of American citizenship. So is a large, professionalized military force, built on promises of money and career, which has displaced a citizen force built on a sense of duty. We need to reconstruct a military ethos that rests on gratitude for liberty and a loyal attachment to community. Meanwhile, recent immigration reforms have rewarded lawbreakers, penalized the honest, and cheapened participation in the life of the republic. Citizenship should be granted only to legal immigrants, with preference going to those wanting to share in traditional Western values.

Let the peoples of Europe find their own destinies. While the United States needs to retain its identity as a Western nation linked culturally with Europe, it seems time to bring the American Expeditionary Force of World War II home, victorious. Events in Eastern Europe are moving rapidly, even dizzily, in our direction, without our prodding—merely by our example. Even a unified Germany no longer strikes fear in Western hearts, but rather seems the surest way of bringing economic stability to the struggling post-Communist nations.

Demobilize the American military. Within the bounds of prudence and with watchful eyes on the Soviet Union, conservatives should support a major reduction in our standing forces. The Founding Fathers feared a large, peacetime standing army as a source of mischief and a threat to liberty. In recent decades, the infusion of feminist ideology into military doctrine and the construction of a special welfare state for "military dependents" have given substance to the warning. The end of the Cold War opens a new opportunity. Our goal should be

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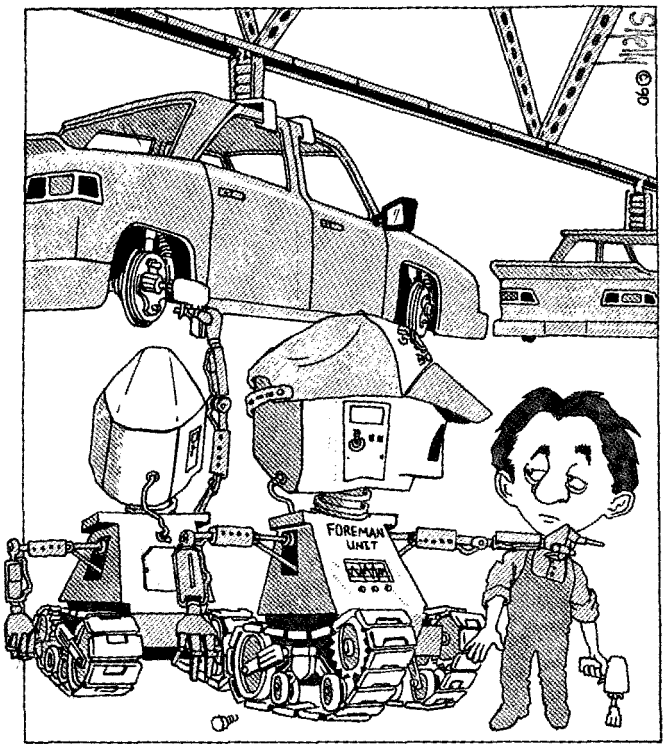

Drawing by Shelly Fischman

Social Security is a full-employment program for GM robots.—Thomas J. Bray

a significantly smaller regular force, focused on the use of advanced weaponry, and supplemented by a large and better trained and equipped citizen reserve.

Construct a conservative environmentalism. In farm policy, this means moving toward a sustainable agriculture, built on the pillars of human community, private property, and personal responsibility. In other areas, a conservative ethos would move beyond preservationism, toward the restoration of natural environments.

End gender-role engineering. The case for government efforts to eliminate sexism is historically false, and the consequences have been socially disruptive. Specific strategies include true "choice" in education—including home schooling and single-sex schools—and an intellectual defenestration of this distorted egalitarianism from the relevant bureaucracies and laws.

Move beyond the New Federalism. Conservatives must help invigorate state and local politics. As a model, the overturn of *Roe* v. *Wade,* however accomplished, would return the abortion issue to the states, where the Founders intended moral issues to find resolution. In other policy areas, conservatives must devote their first energies to township, city, and county politics, as the primary forums for democratic life.

Remain humble. Conservatives hold a singular responsibility to remind Americans that on critical domestic issues such as family decay, the use of illegal drugs, environmental degradation, and moral confusion, government can offer few solutions. Real answers, just as the real causes, lie in the realms of metaphysics and voluntary action. As a corollary, conservatives must firmly resist the temptation to use federal power to coerce virtue.

A. Lawrence Chickering

Vice president of the Institute for Contemporary Studies in San Francisco.

The events unfolding in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe will radically change the policy environment in the 1990s. A greatly reduced defense budget, combined with reduced geopolitical conflict, will diminish the role of the federal government in international affairs. This will greatly reduce the prestige of the federal government and of the president, whose principal responsibility is foreign policy. One can imagine several very different implications that may follow from this. It may even (I think it will) diminish the public's perception of the value and importance of the nation as a relevant unit in the policy debate. While liberals will be hoping for a peace dividend, conservatives can maximize their influence by building a strong theoretical and practical foundation for a nation whose attention shifts back toward states and local communities.

To do this we will have to develop new principles of national cohesion, built from the bottom up, not the top down. This means developing self-governing structures throughout the lower reaches of our economic and social life. Conservatives can play a dominant role in this process, but only if we get out of Washington, D.C., and go back and do grass-roots organizing at the local level. Their ultimate purpose should be to increase choice and citizen participation in social programs, especially education, along the lines of Hernando de Soto's work in Peru, Leon Louw's in South Africa, and Robert Woodson's in this country—three programs that are winning converts from the left in large numbers.

I believe that conservatives must shift attention from a policy agenda defined narrowly—that is, specific government policy enacted in Washington—and increase our emphasis on private action of both individuals and communities. Policy steps in where private words and deeds fail. As the federal government loses its authority in the coming decade, it is crucial for conservatives to build new self-governing, local bases of authority and community. I would focus especially in building positive communities among blacks and other minorities in education, drug rehabilitation programs, housing, and other areas of particular concern to the disadvantaged.

At the deepest level, conservatives must use this decade of declining government to renew efforts to solve our most basic dilemma: how to integrate our traditional commitments to freedom, individualism, and rights, with the need for order, authority, community, and values beyond the self. This task is the most basic challenge underlying the American experiment, and its resolution will determine whether we can achieve both the freedom *and* the commitment to values that conservatives and liberals alike want. Whether we succeed will determine whether we can mitigate the hostility that so many intellectuals have against our society. It will determine even whether socialism returns to the policy agenda, perhaps snuck in through other causes such as environmental and women's issues.

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Solving the dilemma of freedom and order requires developing a concept of order to which people and communities will commit themselves voluntarily. This requires looking at issues that conservatives normally avoid. These include issues that are normally lumped together with religion. We must learn to look at these issues not only in the objective, as in the idiom of much Western institutional religion, but also from the subjective, experiential side that animates most leftists to embrace the Marxist religion. (I *know* Marxism is dead; yet demonstrations of its "failure" are irrelevant to the religious epistemology of intellectual leftists.) This will be excruciatingly hard for many conservatives, whose religion, ironically, is reason and mind (even the neoconservatives). A good place to start would be a self-exploration to understand why we embrace this unsatisfactory religion, and why it pushes us implicitly to say that real religion is something *other* people should do, but we only theorize about.

Mitchell E. Daniels Jr.

President and CEO of the Hudson Institute in Indianapolis.

So much that has already been *thought* through has yet to be *fought* through. Important proposals of the '80s—constitutional limits on the federal fisc, radical education reform, a reinvented SDI, voucherized empowerment, and many more—are already well developed and awaiting effective political packaging. Each of those ideas belongs on the '90s shopping list, but I want to use this space to propose a few less familiar priorities:

Build a "glass infrastructure." The nation's next wealth-generating infrastructure, the fiber optic digital telecommunications network linking every U.S. home and business, must be built in the '90s and early 21st century through deregulation, early standard setting, and, if necessary, even some public investment. The next generation of economic growth depends on it, but that's only the beginning. A raft of problems—pollution, traffic congestion, failing public education, and others—can be alleviated through this technology without the reimposition of statist expansion. Most important, the empowerment of individuals and smaller firms will decentralize decisionmaking of all kinds and push the pervasive central state further into the museum of history.

It will also create enormous populist political possibilities: every American consumer is being denied dramatic new personal vehicles of entertainment, communication, shopping, convenience, and more, all because of a federal judge (Harold Greene, author of the AT&T breakup decision and its continuing supervisor) and a government that can't get its act together to enact a coherent telecommunications policy.

Continue opening trade with Mexico and Canada. The U.S.–Canada Free Trade Agreement, off to a rocky start, must succeed even if specific American industries are temporarily discomfited. The FTA must become valuable and popular enough that Mexico will want its own agreement and, later on, deeper economic and even political union becomes thinkable.

The Salinas government is largely unsung but heroic. It should be assisted in every way possible, and Mexican–U.S. relations must receive top priority, including the best possible public diplomacy in both countries.

We have the opportunity to leap beyond European Economic Community '92 and create the world's next economic model and engine. By the decade's end, statehood for Saskatchewan and open borders with Mexico may not yet be viewed as good ideas, but they should no longer sound preposterous.

Reform immigration policy. Conservatives are embarrassingly divided about immigration. They must first unite behind a policy of open-hearted embrace of expanded immigration and then sell it to an ill-informed, skeptical nation.

Any proposal, such as the ABC bill, which would have traditional families subsidizing the child-care arrangements of higher-earning yuppies, should be fought to the mat.

—Gary L. Bauer

Economically, openness is a solid winner that can bring rejuvenation, ambition, capital, and critical skills to an economy and a social entitlements system in need of all. Politically, the xenophobia to which people of all philosophies are tempted is ultimately more dangerous to conservatives than to liberals: it reinforces a stereotype of exclusionary heartlessness, and it contradicts the modern conservative mentality of optimism and fearlessness about the future.

Promote legal reform. What deregulation was to the '80s, delegalization should be for the '90s. The dead hand of legalism has become an economically eviscerating and socially demoralizing factor in American life.

No single policy will be more effective than a steady war of appointive attrition in the federal judiciary that produces decisions evicting the frivolous, the avaricious, and the anti-democratic from the courtroom. But legislation to shrink the permissible scope and the potential payoff of litigation should also be attainable if the will to take on the legal profession can be mustered.

Conservatives have been reticent to demand systematic legal reform less out of sympathy for "Article III government" than out of gentility toward the lawyers in their ranks. We lawyers must lead the way in surmounting that hang-up; once we do, the politics is straightforward, as the unending supply of lawyer jokes attests.

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Donald J. Devine

Chairman of Citizens for America; formerly director of the U.S. Office of Personnel Management.

Pass a balanced budget/tax limitation constitutional amendment. Since Aristotle's time, philosophers have believed that the Achilles' heel of democratic governments is their lack of financial discipline. Nothing is more important than the constitutional backbone to make it easier for our elected representatives to say no to special interests, setting a limit to how much they can spend.

Reform Congress to become a citizen-legislature. When Senator Howard Baker retired, he was asked what was the most important change that took place during his long career in public service. He immediately responded that Congress had evolved from being a citizen-legislature to a Washington bureaucracy; congressmen no longer were citizens who came to Congress for a few months over a relatively few years, but full-time Washington bureaucrats interested in eternal tenure, high salaries, and the most generous pensions in the world. The recent pay raise may provide the opportunity to begin serious reform efforts: to restrict the number of terms members may serve; to limit the length of sessions (actually, the law says they are only supposed to meet for six months a year); to require congressional districting to follow—to the extent practical—city, county, and other local jurisdictional and administrative boundaries and local topography; to force a congressional election before a pay raise can go into effect; to decrease the size of congressional districts; and, even, to have each state buy an apartment building and require each member to live in a small efficiency apartment (so they will look forward to going home).

Decentralize education through tax credits or vouchers. After devoting 10 years to educational reform, the unanimous conclusion of a recent series of prestigious studies is that public schooling has not improved in any meaningful manner. A recent study in the strictly nonideological *American Political Science Review* finds that private education and public education offering true choice are the only practical means to break the bureaucratic structure of government education. Because nothing is more important to the future than our children, few items should have higher priority than creating a voucher or tax credit system for education, combined with state-level efforts to decentralize school districts down to the individual school (following the Chicago model) and to give students the right to transfer between them easily.

Set a rational defense policy. The congressional maneuverings on reducing defense expenditures show that defense legislation has become more a welfare program than a military one. The main priority seems to be protecting pork projects in home districts. The decline in the defense budget should provide an opportunity to restructure the Pentagon and to refocus military priorities. The enormous bureaucracy of the Office of the Secretary of Defense should be radically cut, and the military units of the Unified and Specified Commands should be made more responsive and responsible by placing all defense units under the service secretaries reporting to the secretary of defense. The traditional theory of American defense is that we are an island-continent, primarily needing a navy. Democracies need quick-strike forces—to get in and out, not to be bogged down in land wars. Defense cuts should be aimed at the 750,000-man Army, and at making the Air Force a strategic, rather than a tactical, institution, while strengthening the Navy.

Defederalize welfare, health, and housing programs. These domestic welfare programs should either be defederalized, privatized, voucherized, or eliminated. What government programs remain must be brought down to the community level, which can both solve problems better and give freedom of choice.

Formulate tough crime and drug policy. Abuses such as RICO statutes should be targeted for immediate abolition. Limited prosecutorial resources should be focused on violent crime, especially at the local level, assuring that guilty individuals are actually incarcerated rather than given unlimited procedural escape clauses. Congress should pass the Criminal Justice Procedural Act to allow the federal death and other penalties to be enforced.

Promote cultural diversity. Rather than closing borders, a humane policy would grant citizenship to individuals fleeing political persecution, but also would grant this status for economic reasons, especially in needed skill areas. Free trade agreements with other nations and even the admission of new states should be encouraged for both economic prosperity and cultural diversity. This should start with the admission of Puerto Rico as a state by 1992, the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus' discovery of our new world, which later exported back to the old its constitution of liberty.

Pete du Pont

Former three-term U.S. congressman and two-term governor of Delaware.

End the corruption of the legislative process. Article 1, Section 8, of our Constitution forbids the grant of any title of nobility, but we have barons and dukes nonetheless—the elected members of Congress.

Politicians are becoming increasingly corrupt, taking money from special-interest groups in exchange for political influence, and spending vast sums of our dollars to perpetuate their tenure. They are wined and dined by lobbyists: wintering in the sun, Paris for the air show, tickets for the Super Bowl. The cost of their offices has grown tenfold in 20 years. They exempt themselves from the laws and regulations that they require the rest of us to live by. They send 12 pieces of mail for every one they receive. They have become lifetime politicians in a manner never envisioned by the founders of our republic.

None of the important changes America must make in the 1990s will come to pass until the corruption of our legislative process ends. We the people must demand a fundamental change: end PAC contributions,

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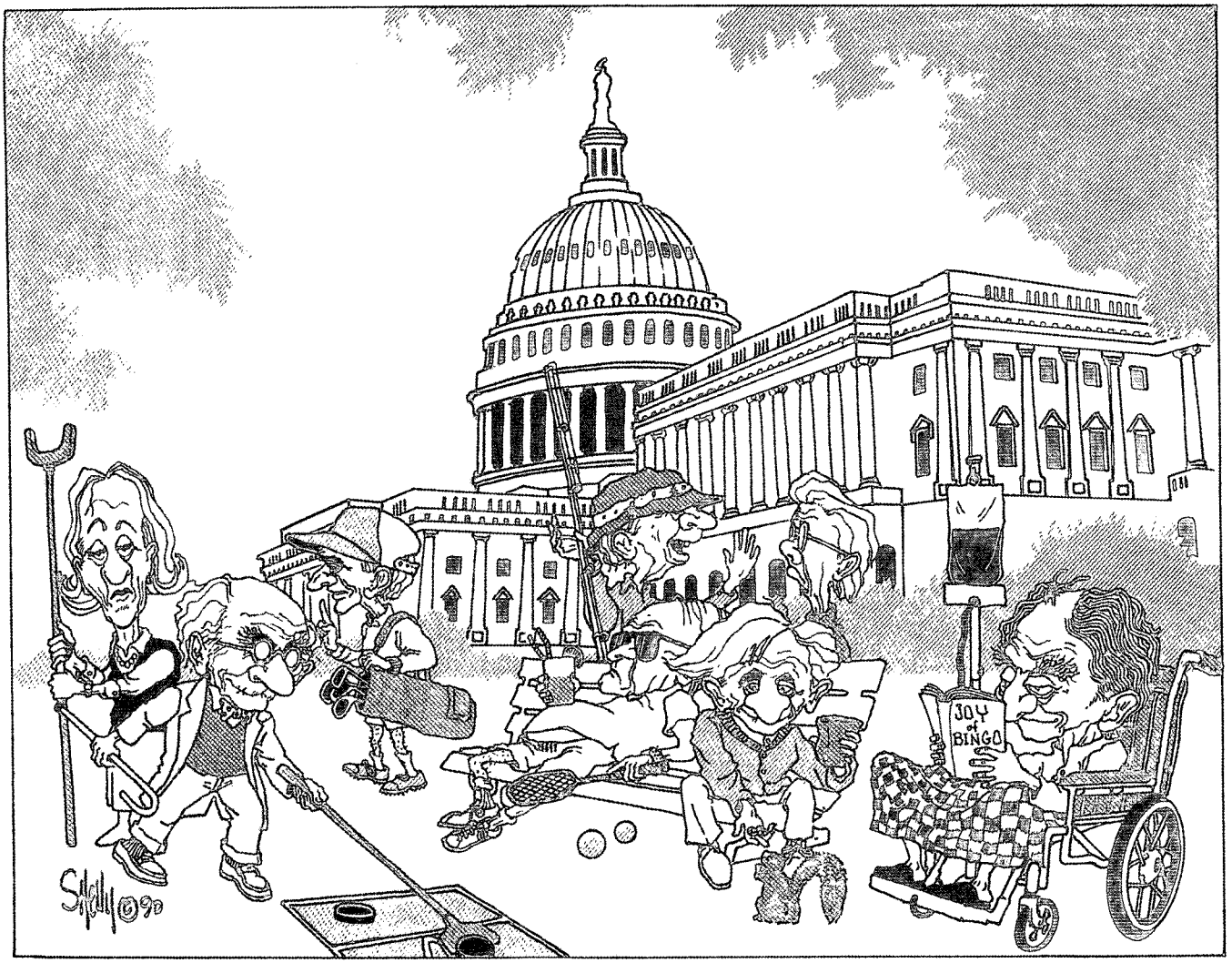

Drawing by Shelly Fischman

America's Founding Fathers never envisioned the House of Representatives as a retirement home. But that's what it has become.—Pat Robertson

honoraria, and bulk franked mail; cut congressional staffs by half; and set a two-term limit on senators and a four-term limit on representatives. It's time to give the people back their government.

Pass a constitutional amendment to limit government spending. The tax burden on the middle-income American family has increased sixfold in 20 years. Income taxes are up; Social Security taxes are *way* up. Government spending has increased by an average of $60 billion each year in the past decade. Congress is likely to restrain spending the same morning the sun rises in the west—wasteful spending won't stop until we stop it. A simple constitutional amendment requiring a three-quarters vote of each house to deficit-spend or to raise taxes would do it.

Promote excellence in education. Government monopolies have failed in Europe's economies and America's classrooms. The sluggish socialism that has tripled per-pupil costs, driven values out of the classroom, and dragged student achievement to 12th best in the world must be replaced—with choice, competition, and excellence. We choose our jobs, newspapers, houses, churches, and our leaders—why not our schools? Parents should be given a scholarship for each of their children, redeemable at any school, public or private, religious or secular, where their children will receive the education best for them.

Increase retirement income. The government is stealing our Social Security contributions to spend on congressional newsletters, beekeeper subsidies, and unneeded Cabinet departments. The deficit is yours, congresspeople; the pension money is ours. Put the $40 billion you stole last year back in our pension accounts, or give it back to us for our IRAs. Without huge (33 percent) payroll tax increases, Social Security can't fund the retirement of the baby-boom generation. Private retirement IRAs for those who choose them would improve retirement income, and protect people who choose the current system. No tax increase, no benefit cuts, just the replacement of another government monopoly that is failing us.

Create a drug-free America. Search and destroy missions in Colombia and drug czars in Washington may help a little, but our goal must be to reduce demand. Employers should test for drug use on the job, in every job; no driver's licenses, student loans, or varsity sports for first-time drug users; no government contracts for firms without drug-testing programs; and no federal

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funds for colleges without drug-free campus programs for students and faculty.

Promote workfare—paychecks for all of us. The welfare prison is destroying lives, tearing families asunder, and fostering illegitimacy. Opportunity is still a mirage on a far horizon for 11 million women and children trapped in that prison of the heart, mind, and human spirit. We cannot fix our welfare system; we must toss it in the dustbin of misplaced compassion and replace it with work—the dignity, self-respect, discipline, and paycheck that go with a job. What better goal for a kinder, gentler administration than replacing welfare with work?

End farm subsidies. The Agriculture Department is paying members of farm families $50,000 per year not to plant corn—and giving every full-time subsidized farmer the equivalent of two new Mercedes-Benzes every year. Consumers pay higher food prices, $17 billion a year in farm subsidies, and the family farmer is being run off the land by government controls. Return agriculture to a market economy by phasing out farm subsidies.

Win the argument over abortion—philosophical, medical, moral—and forget about legislative wins.

—Fred Barnes

Export liberty and justice for all. The past year saw the victims of Communism in a dozen nations break their chains in search of liberty. They have witnessed where socialism leads, and they want no part of it. They want economic as well as political freedom; we should want no less for them.

American aid should not go to nonmarket economies. We should delay rejoicing until we can join the people of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and the other oppressed states in a celebration of the one freedom they really seek—independence from the Soviet empire.

Deploy strategic defense. The implosion of the Evil Empire does make the world less dangerous for America, but not yet risk-free. Today we remain at risk from every one of the 10,000 Soviet nuclear warheads aimed at us; tomorrow, a dozen nations may have ICBMs. Only strategic defenses can safeguard our freedom.

Mary Eberstadt

Executive editor of the National Interest.

The lesson of the Cold War is that American policymakers do best when they remember who we are and what our form of government is, and worst when they act as if the United States were Sweden, Japan, or some other status-quo state without a founding creed.

That's why our foreign policy of the past four decades has by and large succeeded. The strategy of containment was built on the understanding that the free countries of the world faced a mortal enemy in the Soviet bloc; that the United States was the natural, indeed the only, leader of that coalition; and that the contest would entail many commitments, some odious and many expensive, that would have to be undertaken if our side were to prevail. And although we failed to live up to that understanding many times—most notably in Vietnam—we've been steady enough, often enough, to prevail.

Now we're in the endgame, where the difference between prevailing and uncontested victory is up to us. Our purpose now should be to reduce the Soviet system from a still-global empire to a state such as, say, China: one sometimes useful to us, usually not, but one whose importance is for us—not its dictators—to decide.

Our first business must be to deny the Soviets any chance of recouping their losses. This means a swift and powerful response by NATO if the Soviets try to invade again in Eastern Europe. It means not succumbing to calls for state-to-state transfers of wealth in the form of credits and other subsidies sought by the Soviets. Winning means giving real money and real weapons to resistance movements in the states that have now become the Soviets' last claim to global empire. It means clearing our own hemisphere of Soviet-style rule and bringing the long bloody chapter of Castro's wars in Latin America and Africa to a close.

As it happens, our sense of moral purpose has been more conspicuous abroad lately than it has at home. Since at least the War on Poverty, and probably earlier, a succession of statist temptations have put many of our domestic policies at odds with the very ideas we've been touting to the rest of the globe. Social welfare programs such as Social Security and AFDC have wandered far afield from their original justifications. Intrusions by state and federal government into daily life—in the name of everything from the environment to ever-shifting standards of equality—have proliferated. The first step toward better government is to forestall any new hydra-headed bureaucracies or programs masquerading as "catastrophic health care," "child-care," or whatever. Recall that Ronald Reagan himself created a new department for veterans and failed even to discredit the department of education; George Bush has just elevated our "environmental" concerns to the Cabinet level. Anyone intent on rolling back the welfare state will find few allies in the executive branch, and would be better off looking for new coalitions in Congress.

It's symptomatic of what ails us that much of what needs doing—or undoing—now lies with the Supreme Court. Appointments to the Court are the most important a president can make; all the rest of us can do is hope he chooses wisely.

Of the powers that remain to our representatives, none is better to press them on than the issue of immigration. We can begin with the Vietnamese boat people in Hong Kong, soon to be "repatriated" to one of the most vicious and ill-governed regimes on earth.

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Why are we shaking a finger at the British government when humanitarianism and self-interest alike direct us to let those people in? At the very least, many more will pay taxes than join the welfare rolls.

We could use a little of the tonic we've been doling out to everyone else. Deregulation, immigration, the rejection of racism, sexism, and other forms of discriminatory treatment—these are more than policy problems for think tanks and government bureaucracies to decide. They are moral tests of our being as a nation, yardsticks of our commitment to free government and individual rights. One moral test now overwhelms all of these, and that is the question of abortion. To decide it is not to decide anything so metaphysical as the question of when life begins. It is to decide—as the opponents of slavery once decided—that some institutions degrade the society that tolerates them. How else to reason about the institution of abortion on demand—the "routine trashing of life," as Jeremy Rabkin has put it? If the United States does not, as a nation, extend the most basic of its "unalienable rights" to the most vulnerable and helpless of its own, then how long, and with what confidence, can it claim to protect those rights for everyone else?

Lee Edwards

Lecturer in politics at the Catholic University of America; senior editor of World & I.

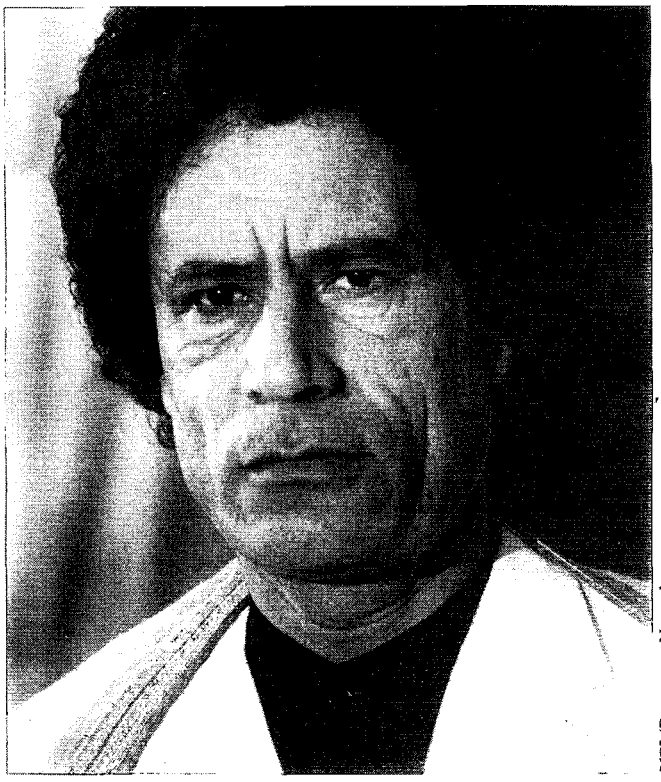
Create a free trade system for the Western hemisphere. Building on the recent bilateral agreement with Canada, the United States should work with its Latin American partners to construct a free trade system throughout the hemisphere. Conservatives should take the lead against the protectionists and Marketplace America advocates.

Erect a "Victims of Communism Memorial" on the Mall. Whether Communism is headed for the ash heap of history or not, conservatives must never let the world forget the human cost of Communism—the tens of millions of innocents who died as a result of Communist tyranny. Communism's crimes against humanity cry out for an appropriate international memorial in the heart of Washington.

Concentrate on congressional politics rather than presidential politics. We mistakenly thought that if we elected a conservative as president, all our troubles would be over. For the next decade we should devote the greater part of our organizational and fund-raising skills to electing conservatives to Congress, particularly the House.

Develop and deploy a strategic defense system to defend against the single ballistic missile as well as an all-out nuclear attack. The Soviet Union is far from being our only potential strategic adversary. (See Iraq, *et al.*)

Initiate Radio Sun, aimed at the People's Republic of China. We know from personal testimony how effective the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, and other mass media were in spreading the truth and encouraging a desire for freedom in Eastern Europe. Mainland China remains the largest single country in the world still suffering under Communism. A news and information service named after Sun Yat-sen, the father of modern China, and modeled on RFE or Radio Marti could have a significant impact on the people of China.



UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos

Muammar Qadhafi, yet another reason for SDI.—Grover Norquist

Form a national media council to serve as an ombudsman with the mass media. There is no court of last, or even first, resort to which the American public can go with their legitimate complaints about the adversary, advocacy, or just plain bad reporting of newspapers, magazines, and radio and television stations and networks. The national media council should have public officials as well as private citizens among its members to ensure that its opinions will carry weight and make a difference.

Jeffrey A. Eisenach

President of the Washington Policy Group.

Restore the rule of law. There were 34 million serious crimes reported in America in 1986, but only 220,000 criminals were convicted and sent to prison. At the same time, states granted early release to nearly 20,000 criminals because they lacked prison space. Liberals say we can't afford to spend more on locking up criminals—yet their welfare state programs have so successfully crowded out other spending that less than three cents of every government dollar—federal, state, and local—goes toward law enforcement. Government must get back to basics, starting with protecting personal safety.

End the fraud of Social Security. If peace continues to break out, and defense spending continues to fall, it's

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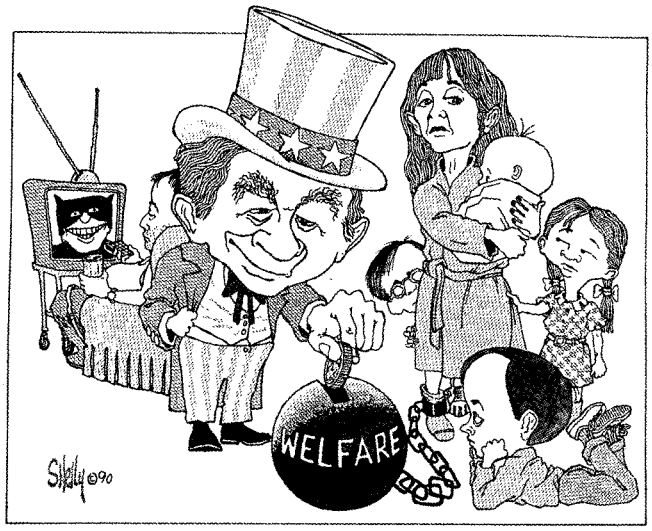

Drawing by Shelly Fischman

The welfare state robs its "beneficiaries" of dignity and enslaves them to dependency on government largess.—Sam Brunelli

entirely possible that *half* of all government spending in the 21st century will go for Social Security. And we should hope so—because Social Security spending alone will require marginal income tax rates of 25 to 35 percent. There's a simple solution, which is to give people the freedom to save and the security of knowing that their retirement income is *theirs*—not Congress's.

Make America drug-free. Some say it can't be done—but most of us remember a time when drugs were not on television or in the movies, not in the workplace or on the roads—and when you could send your child to school without being afraid that he or she would come home with a vial of crack. Most drug users will stop if they are given the right incentives—and the ones who won't ought to be put away where they can't endanger the rest of us.

Repeal welfare. If you don't believe workfare is a fraud, consider the recent *New York Times* headline, "Workfare Program Employs 18." Not 18,000. Eighteen. Let's be serious. Workfare will be real when it's mandatory for everyone. If you don't show up and work—raking leaves, pushing a broom, babysitting fellow workers' children—you shouldn't get a check from working taxpayers.

Stop "Project 10." "Project 10," a publicly funded program in the Los Angeles Unified School District, is devoted explicitly to telling students that 10 percent of all Americans are homosexual, compiling and distributing homosexual literature, and steering students to a "buddy system" for homosexual students. Do what you want in your own bedroom. Do not use my tax dollars to teach it to my children. "Project 10" must be stopped before it spreads.

Privatize education. The biggest threat to American prosperity is the astounding ignorance of today's students. Private schools cost half as much, per pupil, as public schools—yet private school students, especially poor and disadvantaged students, systematically outperform their public school counterparts. Would education vouchers spell the end of the public schools? Only if public schools fail the market test. Any bets?

Win the Second World War. That's what is happening in Europe today. The extended negotiation that began in Tehran in 1943 is coming to an end, on our terms. But the peace treaty has not yet been written, and the principles of the Atlantic Charter are far from being realized. Our victory—the victory of right over wrong—must be complete, or the war is not really over.

Restore American democracy. Half of all Americans vote. Many of the rest would—if they thought it would make a difference. In too many places, in too many elections, the non-voters are right. The rules (for example, gerrymanders and incumbent protection devices) guarantee that marginal votes don't count, and, even if they did, candidates don't offer choices worth voting for. Limiting terms might solve both problems by ensuring turnover and open-seat elections and thereby guaranteeing a constant infusion of new candidates and new ideas.

PETER J. FERRARA

Senior fellow at the Cato Institute.

Cut taxes. Federal taxes at close to 20 percent of GNP are near a historical peak, and state and local taxes overall are no lower than they were 10 years ago. We should seek steep tax cuts to stimulate a massive economic boom. Cutting taxes also gives conservatives the upper hand on budget policy. The goal on federal individual income tax rates should be 9 percent and 19 percent instead of the current 15 percent and 28 percent.

Limit spending. Total government spending in the United States is greater than one-third of GNP, and more than 40 percent of net national income. Conservatives should attack spending, using the theme that the special interests are ripping off average working people. We should package steep cuts in special-interest federal spending with an equivalent large federal tax cut in the same bill, riling up the grass roots to overcome the special interests as we did with tax reform. The same could be done at the state level. Privatization could also help to reduce spending.

Reform our monetary system. Jack Kemp is right on this. We need a dollar as good as gold again, to restore low interest rates, eliminate inflation, and maintain high economic growth.

Deregulate. Among other regulatory changes, we need to repeal the housing regulation that accounts for up to one-third of the cost of a new home, abolish rent control, reform landlord/tenant law, labor law, and tort liability law, remove restrictions on international trade, eliminate racial quotas, repeal the postal monopoly statutes, abolish outdated regulatory agencies such as the Interstate Commerce Commission, and remove counterproductive antitrust restrictions. Most troublesome, the government is currently imposing huge costs on working people through the Clean Air Act and other environmental regulation, often with no significant resulting benefits whatsoever. Conservatives need to advance the far superior market-based approaches to solving the

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environmental problems that are real, and to stand up to and expose the art of the phony environmental scares. Appeasing the environmentalists will not work because they will not be happy until they demolish our freedom as well as our prosperity.

Adopt private options for Social Security and Medicare. Workers should be given the freedom to substitute private savings and insurance for Social Security and Medicare. By shifting greater reliance to the private sector, the long-term financing problems in these programs could be eliminated. Young workers could get better benefits and returns through the private sector than through Social Security. Workers would also have greater control over their own resources and the freedom to tailor benefits and coverage to their needs and preferences.

Reform welfare. Liberalism is destroying the poor as well as unnecessarily burdening taxpayers. We must end all forms of public assistance, including AFDC, food stamps, and all housing assistance, for the able-bodied who do not work. Instead, those who need funds would report to a government office early each morning where they would be assigned jobs in the private sector, or as a last resort, temporary tasks in the government at minimum wage. The wages of the lowest-income workers in any job would be supplemented with child-care, the existing earned income tax credit, and Medicaid. The sweeping change in incentives resulting from this reform would have far-reaching effects, including dramatic reductions in teen-age pregnancy and school dropout rates. Few would show up to work for the government when they could learn skills and advance in the private sector, where there is a labor shortage.

Adopt education vouchers.

Counter soaring health costs. We need to open up the health care market to competition and consumer choice and control, removing all government supports for cartelized health care and excessive insurance coverage. Tax deductions should be disallowed for employer-provided health insurance with deductibles of less than $1,000 per year, and co-insurance fees of less than 10 percent. Employers should be required to place the savings from purchasing lower cost plans in tax-free Health Bank savings accounts for each worker, which workers could use to pay for uncovered health costs directly. This would create new incentives for consumers to avoid unnecessary and overly costly care. In addition, private accounts as an alternative to Medicare and vouchers for Medicaid could be structured to provide such incentives. Expansive tort liability standards for health care need to be curtailed as well.

Deploy SDI. Foreign policy is taking care of itself and only one initiative is urgent: we must deploy SDI as soon as possible. Those who oppose such deployment are playing games with my personal safety, the safety of my family, and the safety of my country.

Restore values. A collapse of moral values—honesty, responsibility, the work ethic, reliability, commitment, courage—is a key factor in many of the nation's most intractable problems. But no government policy or reform can restore these values. Instead, men and women, public figures and private citizens, of all stations, must speak out in favor of these values, vigorously denounce those who deprecate them, and set a strong personal example in their own lives.

Edwin J. Feulner Jr.

President of The Heritage Foundation.

Maintain our economic growth and military strength. The recent discussion of how we should spend our "peace dividend" ignores the fact that the world is still a dangerous place.

We have witnessed some of the most remarkable changes in government behind the Iron Curtain, and the Soviet military threat seems to have diminished; but recent events in Panama, the Philippines, and elsewhere have shown that U.S. military power will still be needed. With the threat of Third World terrorism, the growing availability of nuclear technology, and the possibility of future Marxist aggression, we must continue to support the development and deployment of a strategic defense system in the '90s. Our mix of weapons, forces, and skills will change over time, but we must not gut our defense budget while celebrating our victory in the Cold War.

USIA printing presses should be working overtime turning out translations of the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights in every language.

—Ken Tomlinson

Also, when it comes time to discuss savings in the defense budget, we must ensure that any "savings" are used to make the nation economically stronger, not to increase the size of the federal government. As Senator Phil Gramm recently said, "It would be a terrible paradox if winning the Cold War made government bigger and more powerful in the U.S." Measures that reward individual initiative and increase individual choice (such as R&D tax credits, capital gains tax cuts, and education and housing vouchers for low-income Americans) would stimulate the economy, increase savings, empower the poor, and reduce the deficit, not bloat the bureaucracy.

Rein in the Imperial Congress. We must ensure that Congress is reformed so that it again becomes an instrument of responsible and responsive statecraft. This means examining issues like limiting terms, reforming the congressional budget process, and curbing the growth in the size and power of congressional staff.

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Photofest

Were I the grand master of the conservative baseball cards, I might trade a leading public policy journal for a subversive TV sitcom.—Karl Zinsmeister

Reduce the size of the federal government. The federal government is bigger today than when Ronald Reagan took office in 1981, vowing to get government off our backs. We must continue to examine ways to privatize and contract out government services and eliminate unnecessary bureaucracy. And, we must make sure that the clamor for health, welfare, and other programs is not addressed by creating new legions of federal bureaucrats but by increased competition and real choice in services for all Americans.

Craft a new conservative foreign policy. It is time for conservatives to redefine our foreign policy interests, avoiding the extremes of a new isolationism and of a Wilsonian/Carterite meddling everywhere around the globe. We should be guided by realistic priorities in our national security policies—the chief of which is the security of our own nation. That means the strategic importance of other nations must always be a prime consideration in our foreign policy objectives even as we strongly support human rights.

Help Communist-bloc countries make the transition to democracy and free enterprise. During this time of transition we must emphasize two very important points: 1) elections are not the issue, freedom is; simply replacing appointed bureaucrats with elected ones gains no political or economic freedom for these people; and 2) free markets and free trade—not foreign aid—are the keys to economic growth.

Improve our schools. The two key ingredients in the successful education reform plans we have seen thus far are competition and accountability. Schools should provide certain basic courses, students should meet certain standards, and parents should be allowed to move their children to the school they think best serves their needs.

Make America drug-free. Of course we need education and rehabilitation, but we must also stress deterrence. Individuals must take responsibility for their own actions—including unlawful ones—and parents must take responsibility for their children. In the short run, we must build more prisons and beef up law enforcement. In the long run, we all (individuals, churches, and communities) must emphasize a return to traditional moral standards.

Ensure free trade. We must continue to resist attempts to "protect" certain native industries and expand our efforts to eliminate trade barriers abroad. We should encourage the formation of free trade areas with our trading partners and developing economies.

Limit the unofficial legislative powers of the judiciary. We must continue to appoint justices who respect the separation of powers. Too often our courts have become forums where ideologically motivated individuals can realize their political agendas by sidestepping the formalized legislative and electoral process. We must ensure that the judiciary only interpret laws, not write them.

What is the most important institutional priority for the conservative movement in the '90s? Building a governing coalition that rivals the New Deal coalition. This will require reaching beyond the present union of foreign policy hardliners, economic libertarians, and social issues conservatives to those left behind by the Great Society and not yet reached by the Reagan economic boom—blacks and Hispanics in the inner cities. If we fail to build such a governing majority, we will revert to the status of "embattled minority."

PHIL GRAMM

Republican senator from Texas; co-sponsor of 1981 budget and tax legislation; co-sponsor of Gramm-Rudman budget act.

Abolish crime without punishment in America. Other than preserving national security, no function of government is more important than protecting the personal security of individual Americans by enacting and enforcing laws against criminal behavior. Unfortunately, today's criminal justice system fails its basic objective of protecting the innocent and punishing the guilty. Swift and appropriate penalties for violating our criminal laws are not being imposed. Remedying this problem must be our number one domestic priority.

Promote American perestroika. The lessons from the collapse of Communism are that freedom, hope, and opportunity come from the people, not government. In the Eastern bloc, government failed; but that failure reaffirms that only individual freedom can produce extraordinary results from ordinary people. We need an American perestroika—the relentless empowerment of the individual and the family—for the 1990s.

Expand trade. The U.S. Constitution created a free trade prosperity area that became the greatest economic power in history. Under President Reagan that free trade area expanded to include Canada. A free trade agreement with Mexico, and the rest of Latin America, would end external debt woes and eradicate poverty. Free trade agreements with Eastern Europe would seal the fate of Communism.

Cut taxes. America's future will be determined primarily by the peace dividend debate. If defense savings are returned to the people who won the Cold War—the American taxpayers—then opportunity, incomes, and the economy will expand. If the money is

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used to expand government, then opportunity, incomes, and the economy will shrink.

Enact Gramm-Rudman III. Unlimited opportunity cannot coexist with unlimited government. With Gramm-Rudman I and II, the size of government relative to the economy has declined for the first time in the postwar period. The record-breaking economic expansion that has accompanied Gramm-Rudman spending restraints can continue if we keep those restraints in place and use them to meet new deficit reduction targets that we put in place after removing the Social Security trust fund surplus from our deficit calculations.

JESSE HELMS

Republican senator from North Carolina.

Continue to restrain and reduce the growth of federal spending until the federal government achieves a balanced budget. It is imperative that the federal debt be reduced. The tax burden on the American people is outrageous. There's no reason Congress should not demonstrate a determination to eliminate from the budget the third largest federal expenditure—interest on the federal debt.

Reduce the federal tax burden on the American family. Since 1955, the tax burden on most Americans has risen twice as rapidly as their income. A recent study showed that, on average, a median-income family of four in 1955 paid federal taxes of 9 percent; in 1970, 16 percent; and in 1988, 24 percent. That trend must be reversed.

Foster public policies on the state and federal level that will promote strong, traditional families. As that is done, I'm confident that we can more effectively address other major societal problems, such as illegal drug use and the poor quality of public education. In doing this, we must overcome those who are attempting to foster racial and class dissension.

Late last year, I was gratified to add to my staff (as special assistant) the civil-rights activist James Meredith—the first black to attend the University of Mississippi. Mr. Meredith believes, as I do, that America must have a society where every person is judged on his or her merits, not on the basis of race.

Ironically, the self-proclaimed "civil-rights movement" has led this country in precisely the opposite direction. As long as blacks allow themselves to be classified and treated as a minority, and we continue to establish racial quotas in every walk of life, racial divisiveness will remain in our society.

While many of the people who describe themselves as members of the civil-rights movement may be sincere in their stated desire to achieve equality for all persons, Mr. Meredith is convinced that too many of the outspoken leaders of that movement have no desire whatsoever to achieve equality for *all* blacks. I believe Mr. Meredith is absolutely right about that. Think about it: when full equality for people of all races is achieved, the leaders of the civil-rights movement will be out of a job, out of power, and out of the papers—and my hunch is that they'll never willingly let that happen. We must stand up to the demagoguery and do what is right.

Pursue a foreign policy that puts America's interests first. The quickly changing realities of the world, especially, but not solely, in Europe and the Soviet Union, pose new challenges for American foreign policy. The United States can successfully face these challenges and emerge an even stronger nation—but *only* if our foreign policy strives, first and foremost, to promote *America's* interests.

As President Bush so eloquently suggested in his State of the Union address, we are on one of those rare dividing points of history after which things will never again be quite the same. As we enter the '90s, Communism is at a crossroads at which it can either die or be reborn in new packaging. The inherent justice, efficiency, and morality of the free-enterprise system has been dramatically vindicated. And the forces of nationalism, so long enslaved and artificially shackled by international socialism, have been unleashed.

Masked by the clever veneer of a slick propaganda campaign, Gorbachev has undertaken the most massive military reorganization in Soviet history—a five-year building program clearly intended to make the Soviet Union number one in nearly every aspect of military strength. This program resulted in the deployment between 1985 and 1990 of 15 new strategic systems, including some of the most powerful missile systems known to man.

Our first priority must be to see these Soviet weapons systems counteracted and eventually dismantled. This will not come about by helping preserve Gorbachev. We can succeed only if we continue defense policies based on the principle that peace is promoted through strength.

Beware of lists for the conservative movement. Such a collection will suffer from more violent disharmony than the nationality enclaves in the southern Soviet republics.
—Fred C. Iklé

At the same time, we must support the anti-Communist and non-Socialist forces in Eastern Europe as they strive to free their nations from the grasp of the Soviet Union and integrate themselves into the Western sphere of market economies and free political systems.

To accomplish this, we must share with these countries America's values, principles, and experiences—but not our money. Foreign aid, whether delivered

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It is not Wilsonian moralism but rather a realistic idealism that dictates American support for democrats seeking to complete or emulate the Revolution of 1989 in Europe.

—George Weigel

UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos

Let the peoples of Europe find their own destinies. It is time to bring the American Expeditionary Force of World War II home, victorious.

—Allan Carlson

directly from the U.S. taxpayers or washed through institutions like the World Bank, merely strengthens central governments and socialism while suffocating free enterprise.

America's foreign policy must recognize and accept the resurgence of the forces of nationalism. The captive nations of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are breaking free. The nations of the world are entities of shared ethnic, cultural, and religious traditions. I fear that our State Department does not understand these forces.

But on a broader scale, the idea of supine acquiescence to internationalism is also an idea whose time has passed. The other powers of this world—Japan, Germany, the Soviet Union—pursue their own national interests first. If America is to remain a world leader during the coming decade, we, too, must do likewise.

Perhaps the greatest threat to our sovereignty is our government's reliance on foreign nations, especially Japan, for financing our deficit. Every week, U.S. government securities are sold on the open market. And unless foreigners buy these securities every week, our government will end up in bankruptcy.

The extent to which the United States relies on foreigners to prevent bankruptcy impinges upon our ability to pursue our national interests, especially when they conflict with the interests of those who finance our debt.

Only when the U.S. Congress ends its long spending spree will we cut our deficit. Not until then will America's dependency on foreigners cease and our sovereignty be restored.

Henry J. Hyde

Republican representative from the sixth district of Illinois; author of the Hyde Amendment banning federal funding of abortion.

Assist the Soviet Union to move from a command economy to a market economy and toward genuine democracy. This requires that we do nothing to assist Gorbachev to salvage Communism or to strengthen the Soviet military. Once the Soviets abandon their imperial goals in the Western Hemisphere (Cuba and El Salvador), in Africa (Angola, Ethiopia, and Mozambique), and in Asia (Indochina), we can consider trade concessions.

Meanwhile, we should not unilaterally disarm, but only reduce our conventional forces in Europe with the aim of parity.

Support all movements toward democracy in Eastern Europe and maintain strong relations with the emerging new Germany and also with Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan.

Continue to pay attention to Latin America, with a view toward facilitating investment in Central American countries so that they might improve their economies. We must be vigilant to consolidate the democratic victory in Nicaragua by mobilizing every possible resource, including international pressure to facilitate the transfer of effective power to the Chamorro government. We must not assume the Sandinistas will go "gently into the night."

Do not slight Mexico or Canada in terms of attention and cooperation.

In the Middle East, continue to try to **be the honest broker between the Arab and Israeli governments.** Our interest in preserving access to the Persian Gulf resources will increase over the next few years and we must stay engaged in that part of the world.

Assist the government of South Africa as it moves from apartheid to a more democratic political system.

Continue to implement the Reagan Doctrine in Angola, Afghanistan, Cambodia, and wherever else people are struggling for freedom.

Develop influence with the People's Republic of China to move it toward a democratic system and to protect dissenters' human rights. Stress the release of political prisoners as a necessary pre-condition to improved trade.

Keep the Reagan Revolution rolling. Resist tax increases; encourage privatization, savings, and investment. Encourage job training and increase productivity by providing incentives (such as capital gains tax reduction) for economic growth and more jobs. Make a relent-

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less effort to cut federal spending wherever possible, and give the president a line-item veto or reform the rescission laws to provide more flexibility to the president.

Develop safer and more efficient transportation, both air and mass transit.

Fred C. Iklé

Distinguished scholar of the Center for Strategic and International Studies; formerly undersecretary of defense for policy.

At last, the Jacobins of our times are beaten. For seven horror-filled decades, these Leninists, Stalinists, and monopoly socialists retained their powerful grip on governments and on the minds of millions of people. The original Jacobins—who provoked Edmund Burke into writing the first articulation of conservatism—ruled for only a few years.

Yet, instead of celebrating conservatism's triumph, some in our midst warn that we are facing the conservative crack-up. Their warning, alas, could yet come true if some of the platoons who bravely fought in our grand coalition now succeeded—despite their philosophic nakedness—in masquerading as The Conservative Movement while charging hither and yon in pursuit of their parochial objectives.

Therefore, beware of lists of objectives for the conservative movement. Such a collection will suffer from more violent disharmony than the nationality enclaves in the southern Soviet republics. Conservatism would be better served now by a coherent exploration of its enduring philosophy.

Such an exploration must begin by reaffirming the power of ideas. The Leninist-Stalinists have not been defeated by military force (unlike their ideological twins and political imitators, the Fascists and the Nazis). While liberals, social democrats, and forces of various other persuasions all contributed importantly to the military containment of Lenin's empire, the ambition of that heroic effort was limited to maintaining a standoff: the partition of Europe, the partition of Korea, parity here and parity there, coexistence between the capitalist road and the socialist road to the future. What gradually killed the monster from within was intellectual force—the conservatives' ceaseless refutation of "the road to serfdom."

The lesson here is that the first objective of the conservative movement must be to keep nourishing its intellectual strength. The movement must guard against the closing of the conservative mind. To this end, it needs to maintain a prudent curiosity toward new ideas. It must be prepared to address some of the contradictions of human existence and to cope with the painful tradeoffs that inescapably intrude into all policymaking.

The matrix within which conservatism must survive is being continuously transformed—by demographic trends, by international migration, by advances in technology. Many of these trends pose severe challenges to conservative ideals. The increasing crowding of people into finite living space, for example, reduces valuable dimensions of human liberty, infringes on family life, and tends to erode traditional community structures. Environmental pollution, refuse accumulation, and other such nuisances bring about further expansion of government. It is more than just a semantic paradox that many members of the conservative movement regard conservation applied to consumption or the environment as anti-conservative. Such a view betrays a profound confusion about means and ends. Similarly, some writers who consider themselves conservatives keep quarreling with neo-Malthusian propositions that are entirely sensible. They see all the warts on these population theories without realizing that the concerns named after the good Reverend Malthus are fundamentally arch-conservative.

This problem is related to a quite delicate issue. The inexorable advances in medical and biological practices keep redrawing and blurring the boundaries of human existence. In medicine's Brave New World that we are now entering, the collection of organs and tissues that make up a human being can be kept pulsating indefinitely by a system of valves and pumps. Who can then say when a living person has turned into a corpse? In this domain, quite properly, religions offer us answers where science and political philosophy cannot. But at some point the government has to come up with new answers as well. The conservative movement most definitely is not Luddite; it does not seek to halt technological and scientific progress. But the movement can't have it both ways; it can't let scientific advances change the boundaries of human existence while postulating that the definition of human existence remains unchanging. "A state without the means of some change," wrote Edmund Burke, "is without the means of its conservation."

When should conservatism opt for stability; when does it have to press for change? We have tolerated far too much confusion on this question. Charles Krauthammer recently pointed out that the American Left now places itself on the good side of the political developments in the Soviet Union by calling today's Stalinists in Moscow the "conservatives." It is a high-priority objective for the American conservative movement to stay engaged in the political revolutions that are still swirling through all these European nations. Having liberated themselves from their Jacobin tyrannies they must not embark on a new road to serfdom.

We must be open to importing from Central Europe and Russia elements of Western culture that have survived better there than here.

—Paul M. Weyrich

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Russell Kirk

Author of The Conservative Mind *and many other books.*

For conservatives, the first necessity lies beyond politics. It is the regaining of a spiritual and moral object in life, the lack of which is the cause of most of the troubles that afflict mankind nowadays. Without a recognized end in existence, we are flung into what Burke called the "antagonist world of madness, discord, vice, confusion, and unavailing sorrow." For such recovery, the conservative imagination is required; but it scarcely can be pursued as a public policy. Rather, the renewal of a moral order must be the work of the insights and the eloquence of individual men and women.

In foreign affairs, the policy of the United States should *not* be the establishment of "democratic capitalism" throughout the world, but instead a salutary neglect of the domestic concerns of other nations. With the collapse of Marxist ideology everywhere (except in Manhattan), and the disintegration of the empire called the Soviet Union, America no longer needs to maintain garrisons in Europe and Asia, nor to buy allies through largess. We may return, indeed, to the policy outlined by George Washington in his Farewell Address. As Daniel Boorstin puts it, "The Constitution of the United States is not for export." Other countries must be expected to work out their own political and economic patterns, as a general recovery from totalist ideology occurs. We must be sedulous to avert the peril that a Russian empire might be succeeded by an American empire; for such a domination soon would be execrated universally.

In politics, conservatives should labor energetically to resist centralization of power and to restore to state governments and to local agencies, so far as possible, the functions constitutionally assigned to them. To prate of "democracy" but actually to invest decisionmaking in the hands of administrators in the nation's capital is either hypocrisy or dense ignorance.

It is not the role of the United States to police the world or to spread democracy at the point of a gun.

—David Boaz

In economic policies, the conservative approach is to encourage small-scale and competitive enterprise, and to cease to favor economic concentration and oligopoly. For this, revision of taxation will be required, particularly of inheritance taxes. To rejoice in consolidated economic bigness really is to fulfill the prediction of Marx, who foretold the coming of the day when a huge-scale "capitalism" would have no real defenders.

In "social issues," America's most ominous difficulty is the growth of a genuine proletariat in the great cities, a mass of people aimless, usually unemployed, living at public expense, wretchedly schooled and reared, easily attracted to crime and violence; subsisting, as did the old Roman proletariat, on bread and circuses provided from on high. Our cities, with few exceptions, have become more dismal and dangerous than those created by any other civilized people, and that within the past three or four decades. The causes of this unhappy phenomenon having been complex, the remedies must be complex. Lyndon Johnson's "model cities" and "urban renewal" made matters far worse, in effect being war upon the poor, rather than upon poverty. To healing and restoration, conservative policymakers should give most urgent attention.

Conservatives should not expect overmuch of public policies, especially policies projected by the federal government. Most restoration and improvement must be contrived and effected by individuals and voluntary associations, and in local communities. This is true of schooling especially. A policy of discouraging grandiose and visionary policies, abroad or at home, would be the most prudent of all policies.

Connie Mack

Republican senator from Florida.

Work for a free Cuba. Over the past several decades Castro's Cuba has reinforced its position as a repressive, totalitarian regime virtually without equal. Conservatives, along with everyone else, seem to have become shockingly complacent about that prison-country that is a mere 90 miles off Florida's coast. We need to focus our efforts to make sure that Cuba is plugged into the energy of freedom that is sweeping over Eastern Europe.

Reform housing. For too long we have left federal housing policy in the hands of those who have argued that the free market has little role to play in providing housing opportunities to low-income families. The result has been a variety of problems, most notably the affordability crunch on low-income and first-time home buyers. Conservatives ought to have an influential role in reinvigorating housing policy with the power of the free market so that homeownership and affordable housing can be a reality for everyone.

Achieve zero inflation. We have become accustomed to moderate inflation. It has given us, unfortunately, interest rates that are high enough to make it more difficult for people to buy houses, entrepreneurs to start new businesses, existing companies to expand, and the economy to grow as fast as its potential. Conservatives ought to push for an explicit commitment from the administration, Congress, and the Federal Reserve to reduce the rate of inflation to zero.

Utilize one of our greatest resources—the elderly. Human capital is our most valuable natural resource, yet we largely ignore and sometimes even take steps to avoid the greatest single source of human capital—our nation's elderly. So long as we give the elderly the

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opportunity to take advantage of their knowledge and experience, America will be more productive and our society will be stronger.

Free Hong Kong. In 1997 the free people of Hong Kong will become citizens of the notoriously un-free People's Republic of China. If we allow that remarkable little territory to become captive to the totalitarians on the mainland without absolute guarantees of democracy and freedom for Hong Kong citizens, then we will have failed the cause of freedom and the values that we, as conservatives, hold so dear.

Improve environmental quality. Americans are, as they have always been, justifiably interested in the quality of our environment. Existing environmental problems are largely a result of poorly defined property rights. Conservatives have an excellent opportunity to set the environmental agenda, promote the value of property rights, and make even greater improvements in the quality of our environmental life.

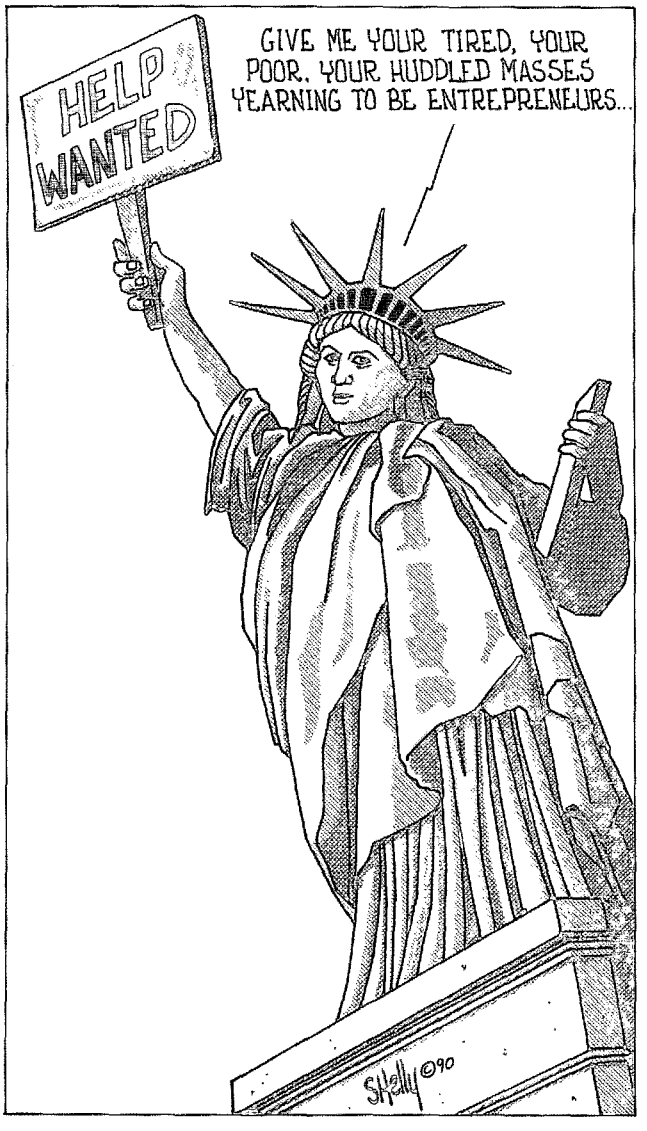
Promote freedom for Haitians. Like Cubans, Haitians have been denied freedom for many years. They have lived under a series of despots who have impoverished their country. Although we have in the past focused our efforts on bringing freedom to Communist countries, we have to make sure our close neighbors, such as Haiti, also share the fruits of freedom.

Adam Meyerson

Editor of Policy Review.

Retain a strong defense. With the collapse of Communism and the declining Soviet threat to Europe, America can safely reduce its military budget and its army and air force deployments overseas. It would be a terrible mistake, however, to demobilize as hastily and completely as we did after World War II, when we left power vacuums that the Soviets and Chinese Communists were more than happy to fill. A continued American military presence in Europe and Northeast Asia over the next few years will help democratic consolidation in the Soviet bloc, and also send the right signals to Japan and a reunified Germany—that we value their friendship and alliance with the West, and will resist their striking out on their military own. Without being jingoistic or trigger-happy, America also has to be prepared to use force to protect our interests (such as freedom of the seas, freedom from terrorism, and freedom for our hemisphere) in places like Panama, the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf, and possibly Cuba.

Forge free trade agreements with Japan and Mexico. Such agreements would greatly benefit the United States economically. They are even more important for reasons of national security. The two biggest potential threats on our horizon, besides the possibility of Russian fascism, are the possibility that Japan with all its electronic capabilities will become our enemy, and the possibility of political chaos in Mexico. We greatly reduce the risk of either happening by interconnecting our economy with theirs, and fighting for the kinds of political and economic reforms in Japan and Mexico that would be necessary for free trade agreements to work.



Drawing by Shelly Fischman

Immigrants bring life, skills, youth, and a love of freedom. They are America's greatest comparative advantage.—Grover Norquist

Stand firm on no tax increase. With taxpayers already giving the federal government $1.2 trillion a year, revenues for new priorities (bridges and highways, enterprise zones, SDI, and prisons) can easily be found in existing programs that have outlived their usefulness. Holding the line on taxes—even better, cutting them further—provides the best discipline for government to be more responsive to the American people's changing needs, without damaging the private sector's economic vitality.

Restore the family, the basic building block of a kinder and gentler America. The role of public policy here is limited, although it would be helpful to reduce subsidies for single motherhood. What is really needed is moral renewal, because the fundamental problem is the way men and women treat each other and the way parents and children treat each other. The public policy message that conservatives must propound is clear: there

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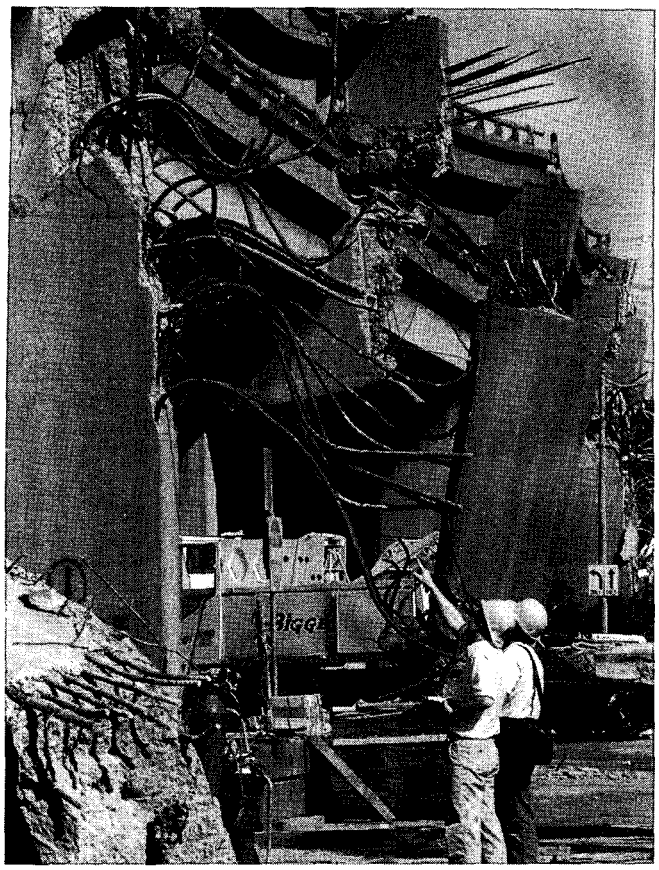

UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos

Am I the only one who thinks it's a disgrace that the interstate highway system looks like the Third World?—George Weigel

is no way that government can equalize opportunities for people who destroy their own families.

Foster more entrepreneurial government. Government can provide many services more effectively by following the model of corporate headquarters in the past 10 years: decentralizing, cutting bureaucracy, abandoning programs that don't work, and encouraging marketplace competition wherever possible. Desperately needed improvements in roads, bridges, and airports would be more affordable with privatization and an end to Davis–Bacon rules. Housing vouchers would shelter more families than public housing, and also free poor people from being captive clients of a government monopoly. Ditto for school choice, and other school reforms that will stop wasting money on school bureaucracy and spend much more on superior teachers and principals.

Hold governors and mayors accountable. Bush's Education Summit focused responsibility for better schools precisely where it belongs—on state and local government. Governors and mayors like to take the credit for all the jobs on state and local payrolls, and then blame the federal government for homelessness, insufficient drug treatment, shoddy police protection, and other social services disasters. These are local, not federal, responsibilities; and mayors, city councils, state legislatures, and governors can no longer be allowed off the hook. Holding them accountable is good politics as well as good federalism: the only way conservatives will build a majority is if we build local power bases through better delivery of services.

Maintain strict environmental standards without hysteria. Government has a vitally important role to play in ensuring clean air, safe drinking water, swimmable lakes, fishable rivers, protection of endangered species and natural wonders, and coastlines without oil spills. But strict environmental standards should be designed to make maximum use of marketplace incentives and flexibility. Hysteria over hypothetical problems such as global warming and acid rain has to be fiercely resisted, as a distraction from serious environmental protection.

Export economic liberty. It is time to convert the international movement for human rights and democracy into a movement for economic liberty as well. Stirring rhetoric like President Reagan's speeches at Westminster and Moscow State will be needed in Mexico City and Delhi. The State Department should issue a country-by-country report on economic liberty violations along with its annual human-rights report. Someone should do the same for federal, state, and local governments back home.

Forge a new politics of race. The political reality is that conservatives can't win by opposing current affirmative action programs. What we can do is call for the end of all racial and gender quotas in 10 years. Affirmative action is popular among many voters because it has helped create opportunities for blacks, Hispanics, and women that didn't exist before. But the most ardent supporters of affirmative action always argued that it was only a temporary corrective measure; it's now been going on for 20–25 years, and all Americans can agree that it is morally wrong to make permanent any form of discrimination.

Nurture adoption, not abortion. The conservative goal should be to reduce the number of abortions by 90 percent, even if abortion remains legal in many or perhaps most states. We do this by making adoption the only socially acceptable answer to an unwanted pregnancy, and by making common cause with that large number of Americans who think mothers should legally be able to choose abortion but should just say no.

James C. Miller III

Chairman of Citizens for a Sound Economy; formerly director of the Office of Management and Budget and chairman of the Federal Trade Commission.

Restore individual accountability. Probably more than anything else, *attitude* affects policy. Compared with 50 years ago, people today take far less responsibility for their own actions. A drug problem? It's someone else's fault. Out of work? Without friends? Bad grades in school? A job that is not satisfying? Again, it's someone else's fault. This mindset of blaming others for our problems leads naturally to collective, interventionist remedies that impinge on others' individual liberties.

Restore collective accountability. As a member of a group, one can blame other members for what the group does. Is Congress wasteful in its spending priorities? It

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was those other congressmen that did it, not me! Did our religious organization allow itself to be aligned with causes I find repugnant? It was those others, not me! Did the city council vote to impose confiscatory taxes? Not the incumbent who's campaigning for reelection! The propensity to shift blame to others in a collective is endemic. In national politics it leads to failures of major proportions. To restore accountability, people must not only accept responsibility for their group's actions, but outsiders must become less tolerant of this excuse. This phenomenon—of members blaming others and outsiders believing such representations—is one reason people generally like their congressman but hold the institution of Congress in such low esteem.

Reform government decisionmaking processes. Students of Public Choice have documented the effects of the decisionmaking process on the decisions actually rendered. *Vis à vis* efficient outcomes (that is, those most accurately reflecting people's desires weighed by the intensity of those desires), most majoritarian decision processes impart a bias toward ever more expansive, interventionist government at all levels. As government grows in both absolute and relative size, it becomes even more important to address this process deficiency. Constitutional or quasi-constitutional reforms must be implemented. Proposals to require a balanced budget, give the president an item veto, and require a super-majority of Congress to pass a tax increase are examples at the federal level. State/local initiatives include public referenda on bond issues and ceilings on property tax assessments.

Resist the urge to disarm unilaterally. Washington is abuzz with talk of a "peace dividend," and expectations are running high for "room" to finance further increases in domestic spending. A peace dividend of substantial proportions early in the decade is unlikely as a technical matter because of appropriated budget authority already in the pipeline. Beyond that, while all freedom-loving people should rejoice at the liberalization of Eastern Europe, we need to resist pressures to disarm unilaterally. The Soviets have not diminished their ability to wage war; in fact, they continue to modernize their armed forces. And, at least for a while, the world will be less stable, not more stable, and consequently the probability of a conflagration is higher, not lower. The prospects for eventual disarmament worldwide are great, but let us not jeopardize our security in the interim.

Maintain economic progress. The 1980s saw major improvements in economic policy, especially at the federal level. Already, however, there is evidence of recidivism, particularly in the regulatory area. Appointment of regulatory enthusiasts in key positions, combined with the workings of the "iron triangle" and the gradual disassembly of the centralized review process in the executive office of the president, has unleashed a flood of regulatory excess that threatens economic growth and individual freedom. Erosion of support for other supply-side initiatives likewise threatens economic progress at a time when we are experiencing the longest peacetime expansion in our nation's history.

Maintain comity in debate. We will be more cohesive and effective in realizing our goals if we maintain comity in debate. First, conservatives differ among themselves from time to time. For example, some see the states' call for a constitutional convention to produce a balanced budget amendment as opening the door to threats to our individual liberties. Other conservatives see it as a necessary tactic to produce a desirable result, with minimal risks of the sort advertised. We should avoid fracturing our movement by exhibiting a willingness to tolerate, and indeed respect, different points of view. We should also maintain comity in debate with those "on the other side." Rather than by questioning their motives, we will be more successful by joining them in debate, with open minds and with confidence in our positions.

Grover Norquist

President of Americans for Tax Reform.

Greatly increase immigration to America. In nations with free-market economies, people are a resource, not a burden. Immigrants bring life, skills, youth, and a love of freedom to Freedom's home: America. It is our greatest comparative advantage. Japan's racism forbids life-giving immigration. That is its death knell as a world power in the 21st century. The large immigration to America gives the back of the hand to America's largest critics. Who emigrates to Iran, the Soviet empire, or social-democratic Sweden?

Permit no tax increase at the local, state, or federal level. There must be no compromise on the tax issue. Ten years of a growing economy with no increase in taxes will shrink the relative size of government more than potentially futile efforts at budget slashing. Let us grow away from big government.

For conservatives, the first necessity lies beyond politics. It is the regaining of a spiritual and moral object in life.

—Russell Kirk

Expand America's free trade zone. The United States has long been the largest free trade zone in the world. Hence our growth and prosperity. Now we must build on this advantage to include not only Canada, but the Caribbean, Mexico, free-market nations in South America, and the Orient.

Deploy SDI. Libya, Iraq, Iran, and a future Soviet empire split in 20 parts all argue for a defense against nuclear or chemical weapon-tipped missiles.

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Provide parental choice in education. Monopolies are inefficient, costly, and provide shoddy service to their hostage "consumers." We cannot enter the 21st century with an educational system based on the model of Soviet agriculture. Conservatives should demand choice in education—in both public and private schools. Pouring resources into a monopoly will not increase excellence. Competition will.

End racial quotas and all racially based laws. Government-imposed racism is a tragic evil in the Soviet Union and South Africa. In America it is an obscenity scrawled across the Constitution and the rule of law.

Implement the *Beck* decision. The Supreme Court has ruled that labor union members can ask for and receive a refund for all labor union dues not used for contract negotiations—that means the money often spent for politics by the union bosses. Making working men's and women's *Beck* rights a reality would give them back more than $3 billion a year. This means $3 billion a year not available to fund left-wing causes.

Demand an end to mandated costs (hidden taxes). If the battle cry of the 1980s was "no new taxes," the challenge of the 1990s is to stop federal government regulations that impose costs on businesses with the same negative effect on growth that taxes have. Mandated costs are hidden taxes and we must become adamant and successful in drawing the line against such encroachments of state power.

Our first business must be to deny the Soviets any chance of recouping their losses.
—Mary Eberstadt

Walter Olson

Senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute; author of a forthcoming book on the litigation explosion.

If Soviet expansionism has truly ended, the old Left-Right encampments on foreign policy cease to make much sense. The new fault lines will likely divide "world-savers" from "national-interest-tenders," "weight-throwers" from "own-business-minders," and so on. Which means the conservative movement as such may no longer retain a distinctive foreign policy, its elements instead going their own ways per their diverse inclinations, as they already do on topics from Middle East policy to the drug war. (No disgrace in that, of course.) One exception: Soviet decline could strengthen the consensus for free trade by lessening the worry that it will bring prosperity to military adversaries.

On domestic policy, the great indignations of one generation tend to father the policy disaster of the next. Now, as usual, free-market supporters are taking a pasting on issues where moral absolutism runs unchecked on the other side: the environment, discrimination laws (supposedly being trimmed by the Supreme Court, but in fact in an epoch of fevered expansion), and the financing of medical care, to name a few. Too often the free marketeers haven't worked out, or are unwilling to proclaim, a morally coherent stand on these matters. So their spirits are low (a sure-fire indicator is that the issues seem "boring" to the troops); economics, when applied at all, is widely ignored as beside the point; the business community lacks the nerve to put up an open fight; and more individual liberty is lost with each passing year.

One more feature of these and countless other issues: they're increasingly being decided by lawyers and courts. And the law as a discipline is in quite a bit worse state than most conservatives yet realize. Security of property and freedom of contract, as ideas, may be making great strides in Cracow, Poland, but they've slipped a long way in Cambridge, Massachusetts; the rule of law may be arriving in Bratislava, but it sometimes seems to be disappearing from the Bronx. The battle for sound economics, which was tough enough, in many ways dominated the '80s; the '90s will bring the even tougher battle for sound law.

Daniel J. Popeo

General counsel of the Washington Legal Foundation.

Have zero tolerance for violent crimes. If a foreign government ever brutalized Americans the way violent criminals do every day, we would declare war—and finish it. It is very simple. If you put violent criminals behind bars and keep them there, the only people they can victimize are each other.

Make Congress accountable. Congress has become an unaccountable House of Lords that passes laws it exempts itself from obeying. The problem is that while citizens dislike what Congress does, they think it's actually someone else's congressman to blame, even when it's their own. Honest congressmen serving limited terms can deal with problems like the deficit as quickly as this Congress gave itself a pay raise.

Maintain military strength and national security. The media have already forgotten that Iraq, the world's major chemical warfare practitioner, can now launch medium-range missiles. The world is still a very dangerous place. There are a lot of Qadhafis and Noriegas in the world and none of them are talking about disarmament and troop reduction.

Eliminate drug use. Start dealing with drug users as we do with drug dealers. Any form of drug use is socially and legally unacceptable under any circumstance. Make penalties for dealers and users so severe that the punishment outweighs any possible benefits. Right now, the bad guys have more money and resources than we are willing to give to our criminal justice system. We are in a drug war and the military should be used to fight a war we can't afford to lose.

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Bring back quality education. Don't allow a group of burned-out hippies from the '60s and '70s to run higher education. Alumni and trustees should demand that administrators restore academic integrity to college campuses. In secondary education, we need to reinforce family values and the work ethic in an atmosphere free of drugs and social-issue campaigns. A little more emphasis on math, science, and economics instead of writing a new social-liberal version of America's history is in order.

Curtail judicial activism. Judicial restraint must be a litmus test for all judicial nominees. Our courts must not be used as vehicles to pursue the political and social agendas the voters have already rejected at the ballot box, or that congressmen are too afraid to resolve through legislative action.

Help build new democracies. While recent developments are being touted as "victories," they are only opportunities. American institutions from the business and policy sectors must help build new democracies with sound legislative and judicial systems in Eastern Europe. One need only watch Nelson Mandela's public flirtations with Communism to know we have a long way to go before the world is one big, happy, free-market democracy.

Balance the budget and cut taxes. America's government can't keep spending more than it takes in. Americans are asked to live within their budgets to support a government that can't live within its means.

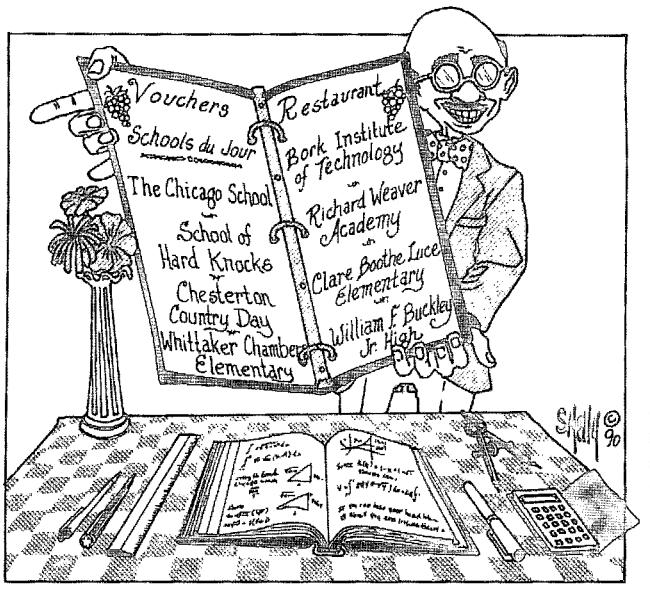
Rescue the working poor. The needs of America's working poor must be given as much attention as the needs of third-generation welfare deadbeats. Our government should not allow the working poor to fall into the liberal welfare machine. Nor should they have a lower standard of living than America's professional government-benefit awardees.

VIRGINIA I. POSTREL

Editor of Reason *magazine.*

Preserve and expand the dynamic economy. The eulogies for the 1980s revealed a pervasive animus toward the engines of prosperity—entrepreneurship, free financial markets, free trade, deregulation. "No new taxes" has become part of the political culture; "no new regulations" has not. We should be prepared for an onslaught of the latter, often disguised as goodness made law. It will take both guts and good rhetoric to stand up against the likes of the Americans with Disabilities Act, mandatory health insurance, and a host of new environmental regulations. But prosperity depends on it.

Nor should we think the only dangerous regulations are federal. The burgeoning "no growth" movement, a national phenomenon taking place on the local level, presents a clear case of the drawbridge syndrome, in which established residents seek to keep out newcomers in the name of quality of life. Primarily through onerous (and ever-changing) land-use and environmental regulations, the no-growthers threaten to make housing unaffordable, stifle industry, and destroy any notion of property rights. On both the national and local levels, we have to make the case that the public is better served by economic flexibility than by regulations that often become conduits of privilege.



Drawing by Shelly Fischman

Our schools need a healthy dose of competition. If we allow families to choose the schools their children will attend, the quality of our school system will greatly improve.—Dick Armey

Finally, we must not merely react but actively seek to **remove barriers to entrepreneurship and innovation.** This means waging the uphill battle to change the public's attitudes toward risk, so that new technologies are not immediately wiped out by lawsuits and bureaucratic fiat. It means applying Hernando de Soto's work on the informal sector in Peru to our own economy—identifying regulations that hinder small-scale entrepreneurship and that keep the poor poor. Americans instinctively root for the underdog; they will support deregulation if they see it not as a tool of vested interests but as what it is, the freeing of individual creativity from the confines of central planning.

Counter the new environmentalism. If Marxism has a successor, it is the new ideology of the Greens—an ideology that holds stasis as a central value and government directives as the way to achieve its ends. The Greens will never be satisfied with the usual regulatory approaches, for their explicit goal is to dismantle industrial civilization.

To oppose them, we have to do two things: 1) split the environmental movement, isolating the Greens from environmentalists willing to accept industrialism and markets, and 2) offer environmental solutions based on private property and markets. Until we have done the former, the latter will prove fruitless, because the environmental movement's radical ranks will push it to reject any such solutions.

Reform education. The public is fed up and willing to consider the formerly unthinkable. Publicly funded, privately administered education could be a reality by the turn of the century. Now is the time to push hard for real choice plans—vouchers or tax credits (including

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rebates for the poor)—that let students vote with their feet. To do so, some in the conservative movement will have to give up their desire to somehow gain control of the public schools to use them to instill conservative values. We will have to acknowledge that as long as our society is diverse and our schools public, there will always be battles over which ideology the schools should teach. Better to trust American parents to find schools that match their own values.

Conservatives must firmly resist the temptation to use federal power to coerce virtue. —Allan Carlson

Foster liberalism in Eastern Europe. With epochal changes taking place daily in Eastern Europe, it's easier to set forth a general goal than specific policies. But free markets and the rule of law are clearly not supported by the kinds of foreign aid programs the United States has often bestowed on Third World governments. In Eastern Europe we ought not to make the mistake of propping up socialism and strengthening central governments.

Richard W. Rahn

Vice president and chief economist of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

The overriding concern ought to be the continuation and strengthening of economic growth in the United States. This is difficult without a growing world economy. Thus, for both pragmatic and moral reasons the United States needs to assist and encourage developing nations, including former Communist bloc countries, to follow policies that will lead to a high level of growth. A growing world economy and increased economic interdependence among all of the world's nations is the surest formula for a secure and peaceful world. Thus, we must encourage the developing world to move toward free-market democratic capitalism quickly. Specifically, we must urge developing countries to enact: strong protection for private property rights; a predictable and stable legal system; relatively low levels of taxation, government spending, and regulation; free markets; free trade; and a stable monetary system leading to price stability.

For the United States to have a high-growth, internationally competitive economy, conservatives must ensure that government spending grows at a slower rate than the overall economy, with a renewed emphasis on cutting taxes, particularly on savings and investment. Reduction of the capital gains tax should be a high priority. Conservatives should not only oppose new entitlement programs but work to privatize existing ones such as Social Security. Conservatives need to renew their commitment to private property rights, free trade, and reducing the regulatory burden. Finally, we need more sunshine within the Federal Reserve system and a reduction of the Fed's monopoly over money and monetary policy.

Conservatives need to promote policies that will devolve government responsibility from the federal government to state and local governments—making people in their local communities largely responsible for necessary government programs and emphasizing a return to individual responsibility. Individuals need to be given opportunity and also to be held responsible for their own misbehavior. There needs to be renewal of the American ideal of equality of opportunity but not necessarily of result.

Pat Robertson

Chairman and CEO of the Christian Broadcasting Network.

Reverse the moral decay in America. The divorce rate in America has increased 700 percent since the turn of the century and as many as 15 million children live in one-parent households. Alcoholism touches an estimated one-third of all American families. Drug use is wasting our youth. There is an epidemic of sexually transmitted diseases, one of which is incurable and leads to death. Pornography is an $8-billion-a-year industry. No society has ever endured whose marriages disintegrate, whose people give themselves over to unrestrained sensuality, and whose youth waste themselves in drunkenness and narcotics. Public policy, especially tax policy, must encourage stable families, mothers who care for their children, and private-sector mediating agencies. Government must shut down the drug and pornography trades.

Protect the right to life. The Declaration of Independence, our nation's founding document, states that we have unalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Listed first is the right to life. By permitting the wholesale slaughter of millions of defenseless children still in the womb, our government has abdicated its primary responsibility. All issues pale in comparison to stopping the abortion holocaust.

Dramatically overhaul the educational system. Public education in America has adopted the cultural relativism of John Dewey. Our children are not taught to read, to spell, to understand history, geography, or math. They are, however, being indoctrinated in socialism and situational ethics. Our schools no longer transmit the cultural and moral values of past generations to our young. Despite enormous increases in public spending for education, instead of being first in the world in education, America now ranks between 11th and 14th.

Education reform must reestablish moral values in our schools. We must adopt a constitutional amendment to permit voluntary prayer once again in the schools of America. The monopoly of flawed public school education must be broken. Parents must take control of their own children's educations and be empowered by

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vouchers, tuition tax credits, magnet schools, or some combination to choose the school best suited for their children.

Balance the budget. The U.S. government by fiscal irresponsibility has permitted this great nation to become the largest debtor in the world. The Bible tells us that the borrower is the servant of the lender. We are finding that control of U.S. monetary policy is passing out of the hands of the American people into the hands of foreign investors. Congress and the administration must balance the federal budget and they must do so now. If they refuse, then a balanced budget constitutional amendment should be forced upon them. Short of that, the president should be given the power to veto line items in the federal budget.

Restore the competitiveness of American industry. America is being overwhelmed by Japan in the automobile, video product, microchip, computer, and electronics industries. American industry labors under burdensome regulations while Japanese industry has been fostered by low interest rates and helpful government. Government, including the Federal Reserve Board, must become more responsive to the needs of American business to compete efficiently in a world environment. Our government, management, and labor must work together. Although, as conservatives, we believe in free trade, we must nevertheless ensure that American industry is not victimized by unfair trading practices by Japan or any other country.

Enact tort reform. The specter of enormous tort liability has paralyzed new product development in our nation and has added an insupportable insurance burden to businesses, educational institutions, and the medical profession. We must adopt strict standards of tort liability and strict limits to the amount of damages that a plaintiff can recover, especially in the nebulous area of pain and mental suffering.

Fix the Social Security and Medicare messes. Current Social Security funding does not come from a "trust fund" but from direct taxes on the incomes of workers and corporations. Social Security tax surpluses have been diverted to conceal the true magnitude of the federal deficit. The only way younger workers will ever receive adequate retirement funds will be through increased taxes after the year 2015. The logical solution is to institute a gradual phase-in of private compulsory IRAs for younger workers. A good start would be to pass current surpluses from the Social Security tax back to workers for investment in private IRAs. Meanwhile, Medicare is running out of money. Private health insurance alternatives and greater use of marketplace mechanisms must be considered. Some combination of government and private funding must be developed to accommodate the nursing home care of the elderly. However, neither American taxpayers nor American businesses should be forced by law to fund the runaway excesses of health care in America.

Push through a flat tax. Ronald Reagan deserves our thanks for bringing the top rate on taxes from 70 percent to 28 percent. Nevertheless, the present tax system is biased against families, against saving, and in favor of the creation of debt. If the present tax system is continued, there must be an expansion of individual IRAs and the 401 or 403 retirement programs. It is vital that the double taxation of corporate dividends be discontinued by permitting corporations to deduct dividends paid on stock in the same manner that they now can deduct interest paid on debt.

Photofest

Less than three cents of every government dollar goes toward law enforcement. Government must get back to basics, starting with protecting personal safety.—Jeffrey A. Eisenach

No tax should be levied on capital gains without an adjustment for inflation. Better than all this, however, would be a flat tax somewhere in the 10-20 percent range that would favor productivity and saving, while at the same time limiting federal spending to 20 percent of the gross national product.

Defund the Left. Planned Parenthood—which counsels young women to obtain abortions, and whose mission in essence is to promote promiscuity among school children—gets tens of millions of dollars every year from the federal government. The Legal Services Corporation litigates about 200,000 divorces a year. Is this a proper role for the federal government? Big Labor has its own government agency, the primary purpose of which is to force people to join labor unions against their wills. That the taxpayer must pay for these blatantly partisan programs and activities is a scandal.

Limit congressional terms. America's Founding Fathers never envisioned the House of Representatives as a retirement home. But that's what it has become. A sitting House member stands about as much chance of losing his seat to a challenger as he has of losing his seat by dying. We limit the number of terms the president can hold. Why should a congressman have a virtual lock on his seat for life?

Phyllis Schlafly

President of Eagle Forum in Alton, Illinois.

Cut income taxes on families with children until the tax exemption for each child is $6,000 per year. This is the most equitable way to cut taxes because children are the ones who will have to pay the Social Security benefits

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for today's baby-boomers.

Restore competition to elementary and secondary education by giving parents full legal and economic freedom of choice to select schools, personnel, and curriculum. That means terminating the monopoly control that the public schools have over 89 percent of our children today.

Build a full-scale Strategic Defense Initiative immediately so that the threat of nuclear war will be completely eliminated from the earth. The reduction of troops in Western Europe will provide ample funding to build a total defense against any accidental, deliberate, or terrorist assault with nuclear missiles.

Stand forthright for the right to life, rejecting the use of death as a means to achieve social goals. This goal should be directed as much toward the culture as toward the legal system, and should be implemented in increments in order to reform the culture.

Launch a campaign to restore traditional, lifelong, faithful marriage as the most honored life-style in America. This includes repealing no-fault divorce laws and imposing social sanctions on the so-called sexually liberated life-styles.

Launch a broadside attack on Congress that will achieve at least a three-fourths turnover in two years. Congress must be made to take the blame for taxing the American people outrageously, spending our money irresponsibly and without accountability, tolerating the most egregious immorality and corruption within its own membership, and insulating its members from the voters by pay and perks so that they have a better chance of retaining power than do members of the Politburo. Congress must be made to pay for its wrongs: cut the salaries in half, reduce the perks, and limit the terms.

Restore the Monroe Doctrine by empowering freedom fighters to chase any foreign "system" (Monroe's word) out of the Western Hemisphere. We should reassert our ownership of the Panama Canal by renouncing the invalid Carter Panama treaty (invalid because the United States and Panama secretly signed different versions of the treaty, so it is not a contract).

The antiquated tax-and-spend style of government is alive and well in our state capitals. Conservatives must carry the tax revolt and our "no new taxes" pledge to the states.

—Sam Brunelli

Stop the feminization of the U.S. military by requiring women to meet exactly the same standards, tests, and duties as men do, and giving an immediate honorable discharge to any servicewoman who becomes pregnant.

Enact legislation that prohibits banks and businesses from deducting from their taxable income any losses due to loans, investments, or sales outside the United States. If big corporations and financial interests want to export American capital and jobs, they should do it with their own money, not U.S. taxpayers'.

Launch innovative programs to bring America's underclass into the mainstream by giving the children what they need most: a father and the ability to read. No amount of money, financial handouts, or political rights can substitute for the lack of a father or the inability to read. The welfare system failed them because it provided financial incentives to fathers to abandon their children, and the educational system failed them because it let them stay in school 8 to 12 years without teaching them how to read.

WILLIAM E. SIMON

President of the John M. Olin Foundation; formerly secretary of the treasury under Nixon and Ford; and chairman of William E. Simon & Sons, Inc.

We must meet the challenge of competition in a global marketplace, especially from the nations of the Pacific Rim. We are living in the century of the Pacific. And the incredible dynamism and technological prowess that we see in those economies reinforce an unavoidable reality for the American business community.

Within a few years, there may be only two kinds of CEOs: those who think, plan, and act globally, and those who are unemployed. As the business community sharpens its focus, we must strengthen our educational system's ability to prepare more men and women to work in foreign cultures, as well as to design, build, and market the products and technologies of the future.

For its part, government's role is to do everything possible to put America in peak competitive form. That means lowering the cost of raising needed capital by lowering the capital gains tax rate. And, it means resisting destructive demands for higher tariffs and instead taking the lead in pushing for free trade agreements and the freest possible flow of products, people, and services between nations.

We must meet the challenge of replacing fallen Communist dictatorships in Europe with democracies that create free markets and free enterprise and not warmed-over socialism. In Eastern Europe, we have won the first half of the battle. Communism is everywhere in retreat. But, if we're to succeed in leading these countries toward democracy and free enterprise, we must not jump on the bandwagon with those pushing for a multi-billion dollar development bank that will channel funds to government entities and state-controlled enterprises.

America's place is at the vanguard with the free-market fighters for growth who are striving to create capital markets and property rights, to transfer public lands to farmers and their families, and to transfer major East-bloc industries to the direct ownership of their

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employees.

We must meet the challenge of curbing the insatiable appetite of the federal government in order to absorb the resources of our society. Here at home we face the perennial problem of a Congress totally unwilling to halt its selfish indulgence, which has doubled the national debt over the past 10 years and brought us to the precipice of national bankruptcy and the most serious economic dislocation.

Now, Congress seeks to water down the Gramm-Rudman deficit targets, even as it looks with lust upon the coming peace dividend. The president's policy of essentially zero growth in federal outlays, no increase in tax rates, and a willingness to impose sequestration under Gramm-Rudman is correct. I would go further, because each dollar protected from congressional greed can go into the savings pool that finances new investment, more risk-taking, and enhanced productivity.

I strongly support further sequestrations, a constitutional limitation on spending, new rescission authority, and a confrontation with Congress, if necessary, on the line-item veto.

And, because I honestly believe we do not have economic or financial problems, but leadership problems in America, I believe the time has come to place a limit of 12 years on the duration of any member's service in the U.S. Congress.

We must meet the challenge of hopelessness and despair among our fellow citizens who have yet to enjoy the fruits of this record expansion begun under President Reagan. We cannot truly say that we Americans are living for the principle of equal opportunity until the least among us can participate more fully in a society of freedom, justice, and prosperity for all.

In the 1990s, conservatives should turn our full attention to this unfinished agenda, and support HUD Secretary Kemp's call for marshaling the power of free enterprise to wage and win a real war on poverty.

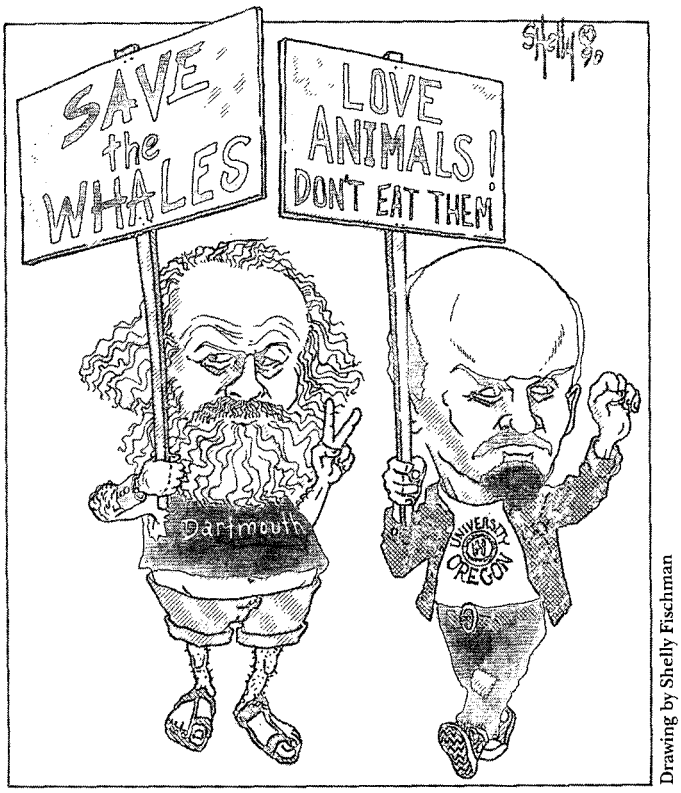
Ken Tomlinson

Former director of the Voice of America; executive editor of Reader's Digest.

Fight for equal opportunity for all. Confiscatory tax rates on individual earnings rivaled the shame of segregation as a barrier to individual rights. However, Jack Kemp's supply-side tax cuts righted the wrong and brought us unparalleled growth and prosperity—and it's no time to stop.

We should cut the Social Security tax on working men and women, black, white, and yellow. We should slash capital gains taxes and fuel another round of investment and prosperity for all Americans.

Export the formula. I asked the *Wall Street Journal*'s Claudia Rosett, who was covering Tiananmen Square, what was the single most important factor in fanning the embers of freedom there. She said it was the importation into China of the classic works of freedom. The Chinese people read the writings of John Locke and John Stuart Mill and the speeches of Patrick Henry and Abraham Lincoln. And they were persuaded.



Drawing by Shelly Fischman

If Marxism has a successor, it is the new ideology of the Greens—an ideology that holds stasis as a central value and government directives as the way to achieve its ends.—Virginia I. Postrel

Likewise, when Congressman Dana Rohrabacher wanted to help freedom-seeking students in Burma, he personally sent them translations of the Declaration of Independence and, most importantly, the Bill of Rights.

USIA printing presses should be working overtime turning out translations of these works in the languages of every country on the globe. Dispatch the translations along with copies of the Sears Roebuck catalog and Paul Johnson's *Modern Times,* and America would have a real information program for the world.

Fight crime. The elites are protected by doormen and private security systems, but among working men and women crime is the number one concern in this country. Hiring more cops and judges (who, after all, are lawyers) will not alone solve the problem.

Building prisons might, but I sense that it would be easier to put up a Marriott in Beirut than to persuade the federal prison bureaucrats to build a no-frills penal facility in West Virginia. Marriott (or some form of privatization) may be the answer, but conservatives better find one, and soon, if they hope to lead in the years to come.

Liberate Congress. There is hope for congressmen who say they cannot maintain two residences on their income: limit congressional terms—to five in the House and two in the Senate.

Just as Proposition 13 foreshadowed the Reagan landslide, the California initiative limiting legislative terms will vault this issue to national prominence in the 1990s. If we could have a national initiative on limiting

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congressional terms, it would pass hands down.

Deploy SDI. Vietnam taught us that war and national security are too important to be left to military bureaucrats seeking to placate politicians.

That lesson learned, we must not let the bureaucrats' concerns about manpower and military pensions postpone the development of SDI, the weapon system that can secure world peace.

We must, of course, maintain the surgical capability to wipe out the Noriegas who threaten our security and to keep the sea-lanes open. But the proliferation of nuclear weapons into the Third World also dictates the need for a first-class strategic defense capability.

Enshrine allegiance to free trade. A businessman's first instinct may be to support free enterprise. But his first temptation is to create a monopoly (or a subsidy) for his product.

When a young congressman named Sam Rayburn fought enactment of Smoot-Hawley, he warned against those who would force poor Texan farmers to pay more for their children's shoes for the sake of a select few in the shoe business in New England. Americans aren't stupid. If the argument is put forth in the manner of Sam Rayburn, the people will get the picture.

Restore the family. George Gilder had it right: we've got to restore the role of the family in American life. Drug addiction, the emergence of a permanent underclass, virtually all the problems that plague urban America can be linked to the breakdown of the family structure. Policies that fail to address this problem are doomed from the start.

Enact the line-item veto. Keep the focus on fat. As Ev Dirksen once intoned on another subject, a million here and a million there and pretty soon it'll add up to real money. Turn Darman and company loose on the politically dictated waste in government now by enacting a presidential line-item veto.

Emancipate education. We've got to bring the choice and creativity of the competitive marketplace to education. In no place is this more important than in our cities.

Save the trees. We should draft Warren Brookes to head the Environmental Protection Agency. After all, personnel is policy.

Malcolm Wallop

Republican senator from Wyoming.

Restore budget sanity through major reform of the budget process. We need enhanced presidential power to control spending through both the line-item veto and enhanced rescission authority. We need to establish the ability to forecast revenue and entitlement expenditures from a dynamic as well as the current static perspective.

Constrain the power of government over the daily lives of Americans and their commerce. Note, I did not say constrain the growth of government, for it has already grown far too much. RICO statutes in civil cases are a constitutional abomination and EPA's ability to order behavior solely on science's ability to measure, and *not* from the threat of consequences to either health or environment so measured, constitutes an invasion of states' and individuals' rights.

Conservatives must insist on the continued nomination of qualified conservative judges and on confronting the Congress when it seeks to overturn their rulings.

The fundamental foreign policy premise for conservatives is that **the United States must remain a superpower.** Some are already saying that the U.S. is the only superpower now. If that is so, it will preserve world peace both military and economic. If on the other hand that judgment is premature, as I believe it to be, it would be unconscionable to cede that status to the Soviet Union and with it the sacrifices of all free nations in both blood and national resources.

We must support democratic aspirations wherever they exist, including in the Soviet Republics. Afghanistan, Angola, and countries like them must not be ceded to the loss column as a matter of diplomatic convenience. We must pursue market-based economies, private property rights, freedom of communication and travel in the emerging democracies, or they shall all fail.

Military strength must be the top of the conservative agenda. It bought freedom and its loss will yield it back. To that end and to the goal of security, American forces must remain deployed in useful presence throughout the world.

And as a hedge against Soviet arms control violations or later military resurgence, we must have SDI.

We need a new strategic doctrine that stresses mobility, flexibility, and immediate power projection in support of U.S. security and foreign policy objectives. In achieving these goals, the United States must remain a sea power.

George Weigel

President of the Ethics and Public Policy Center in Washington, and author of Catholicism and the Renewal of American Democracy.

Address abortion. The abortion license as defined by *Roe* v. *Wade* remains the most fundamental challenge to the American national character in our public life. Minimally, the conservative movement, in cooperation with liberal allies (and they do exist), must press for a legal proscription of abortion as *ex post facto* contraception, while strengthening our ability to provide support for women caught in the dilemma of unwanted pregnancy. Parental notification in the case of minors and no sex-selection abortions are good places to jump-start the legal agenda.

Raise the underclass. Effective solutions to the unprecedented problem of an urban underclass should be high on the conservative agenda. There is now broad support, across the ideological spectrum, for approaches that stress character formation as the key to breaking the cycle of poverty and crime. Conservatives should challenge the churches, in particular, to recapture their role as communities of character formation in centers of urban poverty and crime.

Provide educational choice. The virtual monopoly

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government schools enjoy with public funds for education must be broken if the American educational system is to get out of its current, disgraceful rut. Choice is indispensable to reform. The power of the National Education Association in the Democratic Party notwithstanding, here is another issue where the very terms of the debate—"choice," "empowerment," *etc.*—create the possibility of coalition-building.

Drawing by Shelly Fischman

Illustration for a *Policy Review* symposium on Utopia, Summer 1987.

Export the democratic revolution. It is not Wilsonian moralism but rather a realistic idealism that dictates American support for democrats seeking to complete or emulate the Revolution of 1989 in Europe. Absent a culturally persuasive answer to the question "Why engage?," neo-isolationism of the left will make common cause with old-fashioned isolationism on the right, the net result being a retreat from the world at precisely the time when our national experience of democratic pluralism is a badly needed model for the future. Prudent support for the world's democrats is morally right, strategically sound, and politically potent. Let the 1990s be the decade in which conservatives remain vigorously at the forefront of the initiatives launched by President Reagan in his epochal 1982 address to the British Parliament in Westminster Hall.

Reform our military strategy. Conservatives will rightly warn against premature euphoria in the matter of what someone once called the Evil Empire, but it does seem that some basic rethinking about the structure of our military, set within the framework of a post-Warsaw Pact peace-and-security strategy, is overdue. With the deadly combination of crazy states plus ICBMs plus chemical or biological weapons looming on the horizon, conservatives should press for continued development of strategic defense capabilities in concert with our allies and just perhaps a former adversary or two. But that hardly exhausts the agenda of reform, which should include more attention to our low-intensity conflict capabilities, the bureaucratic mindset of our officer corps, and the whole imbroglio of procurement.

Push for congressional reform. Something must be done, and soon, about the dismal state of the Congress. If Congress won't discipline itself—cut back its massive staff, reform incumbents' abuse of the frank, restructure the division of slots on committees and their staffs—then the executive should use the veto power on the annual congressional appropriation to send a clear signal that the days of endless congressional expansion are over.

Reform the federal judiciary. Robert Bork's *Tempting of America* has driven home the stakes involved in the current struggle over the nature of judging. Conservatives must continue to press the executive to appoint judges committed to a non-legislative concept of their function. And, as the Bork debacle itself illustrated, conservatives had better figure out ways to meet, and beat, the inevitable challenge that such appointments will get in the Senate.

Build infrastructure. Am I the only one who thinks it a disgrace that the interstate highway system is beginning to look (and feel!) like something in the Third World? Surely conservatives have an interest in maintaining the roads and bridges that bind this vast and diverse country together, and give its people a mobility that was once the envy of the world. The same principle of prudent but generous expenditure from the common purse should apply to our air traffic control system, which is creating circumstances that are, again, reminiscent of a Banana Republic.

Protect the pastime. Would I be considered frivolous for suggesting a constitutional amendment that proscribes the designated-hitter rule, plastic grass, domed stadiums, and aluminum bats as inconsistent with the dignity of the national pastime? Well, if not an amendment, then something!

Paul M. Weyrich

President of the Free Congress Foundation.

The old conservatism based solely on anti-Communism and fear of government is dead. Some commentators think this means the demise of the conservative movement. Not so. The world has not suddenly become perfect. Rather, we now face a new series of dangers and necessary responses, out of which emerges a new conservative agenda. It is not an agenda for opposing, as the old agenda largely was; it is an agenda for governing.

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The Declaration of Independence states that we have unalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Listed first is the right to life. All issues pale in comparison to stopping the abortion holocaust.

—Pat Robertson

National Right to Life Committee

Forget about banning abortion. It ain't gonna happen. Concentrate on questions of parental consent, abortions beyond the first trimester, and policies that encourage adoption.

—Thomas J. Bray

Rally the West in defense of its culture. The West is losing its culture, which is to say its foundation, its content, the thing that makes it "the West." The process is already far along; the hour is late. Much has been lost to totalitarian Communism in Central and Eastern Europe; to cultural radicalism in our universities; and to materialism and sheer ignorance in our society at large. Our survival depends on making Western culture explicit, defending it and restoring it. That must become our highest priority as a movement.

Reunite the West, from California to Kamchatka. The West is the Judeo-Christian culture, the culture that grew from Jerusalem and Athens, Rome, and Constantinople. It includes Russia. If it is to survive and renew itself, it needs to reunite—including a non-Communist Russia. Of course, for that to be possible, events must move in certain ways in the Soviet Union. For our part, we must encourage such movement every way we can and be ready to welcome a restored Russia back into the West as an equal and valued partner.

As part of this, we must work to export democratic capitalism to Central Europe and Russia. Nothing else is likely to provide those nations the basis they need for rejoining the West.

We must also be open to importing from Central Europe and Russia elements of Western culture that have survived better there than here. Through them, we may be able to rediscover a literary, rather than a television, culture. We may also be able to benefit from the strength of the church in some of these countries. The church has played a vital role in the survival of their culture under Communism. It may have an equally vital role to play here in the recovery of our culture. If we are lucky, we could see a major revival of religion coming out of the eastern half of the West to us. If that happens, we must be open to it.

Recognize that we are probably not moving into an era of general world peace, *à la* Fukuyama, but into a time of more dangerous conflict on a north-south axis. For the first time in 300 years the West is likely to face serious threats from non-Western cultures. We must lead America in preparing for such dangers.

As part of this, we must reemphasize SDI, less as a defense against the Soviet Union than against non-Western threats. Ballistic missile technology is spreading rapidly in the Third World. So is genetic engineering technology, which can be used to develop biological warheads that would be effective weapons of mass destruction. Third World countries will probably not have many missiles that could hit us, but even a few would be deadly with biological warheads. We need SDI to defend against this.

Put our long-term economic house in order. While the economy is currently doing well, we face major long-term problems, of the sort Mr. Darman has recently warned of—unfunded obligations running into many billions of dollars. Most important is the slowing of our gains in productivity. Unless our economy becomes more productive, our living standards will certainly fall. Further, we will be tempted to try to inflate our way out of our long-term obligations such as the national debt. We risk eventually going down the Argentine road.

Finally, we need to build a new conservative movement around these issues. We need grass-roots strength to turn the nation's agenda around, especially to make defense and revival of our culture the top national priorities. The American people see our culture falling apart and will respond to a call to revive it. We must issue that call, cost what it may in good relations with the Washington establishment.

KARL ZINSMEISTER

Adjunct research associate with the American Enterprise Institute.

The most important problems the U.S. faces in the 1990s will largely be unamenable to political solutions. This is because they are, at root, moral disorders.

Policymakers can handle things like budget deficits. For all the professed outrage, the simple fact is that the deficit could literally be eliminated with the stroke of a pen. The only obstacle is a lack of nerve—a very old, not so frightening, human failing. But let policymakers try to solve the problem of tens of thousands of mothers

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knowingly damaging their babies by using crack while pregnant. Let them try to keep a father from deserting his young children and their vulnerable mother. These are far harder tasks, not easily resolved with new regulations or different marginal tax rates; yet they are the most urgent demands we now face.

Recently, I was briefing an official from Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry and he was questioning me, frankly with some arrogance, about U.S. debt, research priorities, trade troubles, savings rates, and similar factors nagging our international economy. I finally suggested to him, to his evident surprise, that despite the great attention lavished on these matters in press and policy discussions, few of them were critically threatening to the U.S. I argued adjustments were being made and that beyond the very short term there is enormous underlying strength in the U.S. economy.

I quickly added that this country does face very serious problems, and that in my opinion they could be summarized by one telling comparison. While only 5 percent of the children in his country live in something other than an intact two-parent home, in the United States the figure is currently 27 percent (and rising). Before they reach maturity, about two-thirds of all American children will spend some time in a single-parent household. That, I said, is a competitiveness problem.

Indeed, that is the American disease, and it can have mortal effects. We talk of educational droop, drug use, poverty, racial disparities, and crime as today's darkest failures. But these are less separate problems than direct side effects of one deeper problem: destroyed families. There is an enormous and growing pile of evidence that when children grow up in unstable homes, without regular support from one or both parents, many or most of them will end up with intellectual and emotional scars.

Our family disaster is made doubly dangerous by trends in the larger world. The present day is characterized by a declining significance of things material and a great upswing in the importance of capacities of mind and soul. This is true on the societal level: lodes of ore and inches of loam have relatively little bearing on international success and influence anymore. National riches are now totted in human aptitudes and attitudes, not ounces of bullion. And it is true on the personal level: poverty, for instance, is increasingly a function of character, of personal behavior—what even the Left is calling "life-style choices." In America today, if you finish high school, don't have a baby out of wedlock, don't take drugs, and get and stay married, you are exceedingly unlikely to end up poor.

The problem for policymakers is that the family is the only institution that can reliably cultivate these mental capacities and disciplines so critical to economic success. One of the clearest lessons of recent decades is that society's capacity to remedy damage done early on in deficient families is quite limited. As I view the growing conservative mafia rattling around Washington, D.C.—and I am a part of it—I hope conservatives do not repeat the terrible error of modern liberalism by placing government, and government-nudging, above all other callings. That is not where the nation's most important work now needs to be done.

If we're a bystander from time to time, or even often, fine. We've done six days of God's work. The '90s are the seventh day. Relax.

—Fred Barnes

At the core of the conservative code is the idea that the world is, and ought to be, ruled by evolved human action, not human design. Much of the 1980s conservatism was a defensive effort against the delusion of statist orchestration of American life. I hope in the 1990s conservatives might attempt a much broader drive to influence the direction of voluntary citizen action. Particularly, we need to encourage Americans to develop new family priorities.

What this will require is not so much "policymaking" as frank appeals to the consciences of average citizens. Of course, laws and officeholders are one influence on private attitudes and morals, so active politics will remain important. But were I the grand master of the conservative baseball cards, I might trade several campaign consultants for a few more conservative novelists, a sturdy conservative senator for a couple of university presidents, a leading public policy journal for a subversive TV sitcom. My deepest hope is that the conservative movement might aim for, and achieve, cultural as well as political influence in the coming decades.

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Wedges and Magnets

Vin Weber on Conservative Opportunities

An Interview by Adam Meyerson

Representative Vin Weber (R-Minn.), 37, has for the past nine years been one of the principal organizers of young conservative activists within the House of Representatives. Last year he joined the leadership of the House GOP as well, when he was elected secretary of the Republican Conference. He is thus on the front lines in trying to translate conservative ideas into politically viable rhetoric and legislative strategies.

In February 1990, Representative Weber talked with *Policy Review* editor Adam Meyerson about the possibilities of realignment, the conservative domestic and foreign policy agendas for the 1990s, the politics of abortion, and the institution of Congress.

***Policy Review*: You were elected to the House in the Reagan landslide of 1980. What were the most important objectives of conservatives then, and how many of these goals have been achieved?**

Congressman Vin Weber: Look at the collapse of Communism, at the strength of the economy compared with where it was under Jimmy Carter, and it's obvious that President Reagan achieved his most important policy goals. Both he and the conservative movement also achieved a very important political goal. Although we haven't seen a total realignment since 1980, we have seen the most significant sea change since FDR in people's perceptions of the two parties.

It is now clear that the 1980 landslide was not simply a personality victory for Ronald Reagan or a rejection of Jimmy Carter. American voters said that they couldn't trust the Democratic Party to handle the country's basic interests—to preserve the strength of the American economy, to keep inflation under control, to provide for a strong national defense and conduct foreign policy, and to offer moral leadership both at home and abroad. After nine years, this view is even stronger. The polling data show conclusively that Americans trust Republicans more than they do Democrats to protect these fundamental interests.

***P.R.*: Why, then, is realignment so elusive below the presidential level?**

Weber: Because conservatives and Republicans have failed to articulate an attractive alternative to the liberal welfare state. Americans don't like our current domestic programs much; they don't think the welfare state is solving the problems it was designed to solve. But most conservatives have chosen not to enter the debate on domestic policy, with the result that Americans still have more confidence in Democrats than in Republicans when it comes to problems like poverty and homelessness and education. Our failure to think more creatively about the role of government in domestic policy has probably cost us control of the Congress and of state legislatures across the country.

Our political problem here is not just in appealing to poor voters. We're also hurt because this country has a political conscience. Americans of all income levels think government should address the problems of the poor. The country now thinks that the government will be indifferent, if not hostile, to the problems of the poor if conservatives are given control. We have to remedy that perception if we want to build a majority.

***P.R.*: It sounds like you're not a libertarian any more.**

Weber: I used to be a strict libertarian—in college and shortly thereafter. I thought libertarianism was the only consistent and coherent intellectual response to the Left, which was then ascendant; at least I didn't see another answer with much intellectual depth. I still see libertarianism as a crucial component of conservatism. But I have changed a lot of my thinking in the past 10 years.

I now realize that in a democratic society people are going to demand that the government respond to social problems. If you want to shape public policy, it's not enough simply to debate whether it's proper for government to get involved. The voters will insist that there be some response. The more important question is, are we going to formulate responses consistent with our values that make society better, or responses in conflict with our values that make society worse?

A special influence on my thinking here was the farm crisis of the mid-1980s. There was a universal outcry in my part of the country. Farmers were in trouble and

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people wanted the government to help, and this had a significant impact on me. I was not able to respond simply by arguing that the government should get out of agriculture. I had to think about how the government should respond if I wanted to remain in the debate.

***P.R.*: How, except on a temporary emergency basis, can a conservative justify extensive government interference in agricultural markets?**

Weber: You have to understand, first, that I represent more farmers than any other member of the House, and I grew up in a community whose entire economic livelihood depends on farming. Also, the federal government has been involved in agriculture longer than in any other sector of the economy except transportation, where it built the roads.

This involvement hasn't done everything some of its supporters said it would: it hasn't prevented the number of farms from diminishing, nor has it prevented farms from getting bigger over the decades. But on the whole, the federal investment in agriculture has led to good results: we have an abundance of the highest quality food in the world. Now, with 40 percent of our farm produce sold on the export market, and the world economy in agriculture so intertwined with government, it's hard to see how our own government can disengage without a worldwide agreement reducing everybody's trade barriers and subsidies.

Weber (left) with constituent. "I was not able to respond to the farm crisis of the mid-1980s simply by arguing that the government should get out of agriculture. I had to think about how the government should respond if I wanted to remain in the debate."

***P.R.*: How would you differentiate a conservative approach to the welfare state from a liberal approach?**

Weber: The first principle is that government should reinforce traditional values such as family and work, instead of undermining them.

We currently have a welfare state that discourages work and encourages families to break up. A conservative approach to the welfare state would do exactly the opposite. We would reward poor people for working and encourage them to work more, reward families for staying together and provide support in helping them stay together.

Second, government policy should be market-sensitive, not market-destructive. Choice in education is an example. There are different ways that you can structure the federal government's involvement in education, housing, or anything else. We should design policies that utilize the marketplace, rather than superseding it as the Democrats are basically doing.

Third, the conservative welfare state should be fiscally responsible. Solutions will often depend on providing the right incentives and restructuring failed programs, not merely on increasing government spending.

Finally, local control and decentralization should be central to our agenda. This, incidentally, was one of the most important lost opportunities of the Reagan administration. If done properly, the New Federalism initiative should have been very popular and gained major support in state and local governments. Unfortunately, David Stockman used the principle of federalism simply to justify budget cuts, without first winning the political support around the country that was possible.

***P.R.*: What ideological conflicts are going to remain in foreign policy if the Soviet threat really diminishes?**

Weber: The basic positions of conservatives and liberals on national security have not changed. We still favor peace through strength. They still are willing to put the United States in jeopardy by cutting too much of the defense budget.

Communism may now be a diminishing threat, and if so, anti-Communism will figure less prominently in conservative rhetoric. But from Qadhafi to Kim Il-Sung to the radical Palestinians, there are still threats to American security. We could soon be seeing tremendous turmoil and uncertainty in Eastern Europe after the exhilarating liberation of people who had been oppressed for so long. The best reaction to this turmoil and uncertainty in the mind of most Americans is to keep our military prudently strong. So, conservatives can still win elections by saying, "There are threats in the world. The nature of the threats may be changing, but America must be strong. It's a small price to pay to keep our country as secure as we have been throughout the postwar era."

I am very worried, however, that some conservatives will be too protective of the existing configuration of our

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AP/Wide World Photos

"Americans aren't pro-choice about racial discrimination, because the civil-rights movement got people who talked about choice to start thinking about racial discrimination and whether it was wrong."

national defense. Too many conservatives are reluctant to cut defense spending anywhere. But to meet the changing threats around the world, we're going to have to change the focus and structure of the military. This means setting priorities. Maybe we have to be willing to forgo further modernization of our land-based deterrent, provided we spend the money on accelerating SDI. Perhaps we don't need such a big army in Western Europe. Conservatives have to be prepared to stand up against special interests in the armed services just as much as we do elsewhere in government.

***P.R.*: Are you worried about the reemergence of old-fashioned conservative isolationism?**

Weber: I think it would be a terrible tragedy. I can't quite believe that conservatives will go that direction, although I've read my friend Pat Buchanan basically arguing that way. It shocks me. The left wing is horribly isolationist and led America into retreat for a long time. The reassertion of American leadership in the world in the 1980s resulted from the embrace of internationalism by conservatives and Republicans. It would be terrible for the U.S. and for the world if conservatives were to retreat now from the position of leadership we've established.

***P.R.*: Are you equally worried about pressures for economic nationalism within the conservative movement?**

Weber: A number of conservatives in the Congress, and many of my best friends in the conservative movement, have been seduced by economic nationalism. These are people with patriotic values whom I respect a great deal, but I think their thinking about questions like trade and foreign investment is flawed. The triumph of America is not military domination of the planet. The triumph of America is the triumph of American ideas. America loses if we build walls around our country, or encourage other countries to build walls, or engage in beggar-thy-neighbor international economic policies. America wins when the world moves closer to free trading systems.

The rise of America's competitors is a sign of American strength, not American weakness. To be sure, our economy could be growing faster, particularly if we made positive changes in the tax code, like a capital gains

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tax cuts, and incentives for enterprise zones. But the main reason America is in *relative* decline is that more and more countries on the Pacific Rim and elsewhere are adopting our own free enterprise system. The rapid growth of Japan, other Asian countries, and much of Europe is a triumph for America.

If the rest of the world does what we want them to do, which is to reform their economies along the lines of democratic capitalism—this is what we pray for in South America, in Africa, and in those parts of Asia that are still locked in poverty—then their economies are going to grow rapidly, and we are going to be less dominant. We were dominant on a poor planet following the devastation of Europe in World War II. We now want to be leading on a wealthy planet. But you can't be quite as dominant if the whole planet's wealthy.

I recently read some American commentators who hoped that the Socialists would win in Japan, because they would pursue economic policies that would stunt the Japanese growth rate. That's perverse! Whatever problems we have with the Japanese, we don't want to discourage wealth creation through a free enterprise system anywhere on the planet.

***P.R.*: Many social conservatives are bitterly disappointed both with Reagan and the conservative movement for not making more progress on the social agenda.**

Weber: I think these critics are unfair. We have a transformed federal judiciary, thanks to President Reagan, and we got the federal government out of the business of paying for abortions. The war on drugs and the movement for choice in education are important parts of the social agenda. One of the most important philosophical steps of the Reagan administration was its articulation of a new policy on Third-World population control, which affirms people as a positive resource in economic development, rather than simply another form of pollution.

I also do not agree that we could have done more if President Reagan and his administration had been more aggressive. The votes were not then, and are not now, there to pass a human life amendment, for example.

***P.R.*: Except in a few states, pro-life forces seem to be on the defensive since the *Webster* decision last summer. Why do you think this is so? And how can pro-life forces better define the terms of the abortion debate?**

Weber: The jury is still out on the politics of abortion. We've still had relatively few tests. *Webster*'s chipping away at *Roe* v. *Wade* has so far energized the pro-abortion people a little more than the pro-life people, and over the short run the pro-abortion forces have possibly been given a little boost. But over the long run, I expect we'll move the country in a pro-life direction.

Framing the issue correctly is essential. We have to focus the debate on *abortion*, the taking of innocent human life, and take the discussion away from choice. Americans aren't pro-choice about racial discrimination, because the civil-rights movement got people who talked about choice to start thinking about racial discrimination and whether it was wrong. When the public begins to understand what abortion is, a lot of people will find that they are on our side. Many others will be sufficiently troubled by our arguments not to vote against us on this issue.

The secret is to keep forcing public attention on the nature of abortion. Pro-life candidates should go on the offensive, saying, "Let's have a reasonable debate. You tell us under what circumstances it should be acceptable to take the life of an innocent human being."

***P.R.*: Should there be room in the GOP for pro-choice candidates?**

Weber: Sure. That's the nature of the American political system. We don't impose party discipline, but let our differences be sorted out by the voters. We still have pro-choice Republicans in positions of party leadership. It would be a terrible mistake, however, for the party to weaken its pro-life platform in 1992.

> Too many **conservatives** are reluctant to **cut defense spending anywhere.** We have to stand up **against** special **interests in the armed** services **just as much as we do elsewhere in government.**

Many Republican candidates used to be able to tell pro-life people they were with them, and then not say anything about the subject to the general public. Those days are over. Every candidate must be prepared now to defend aggressively his or her position on abortion before the general public. I don't recommend consulting the polls on this: the voters will sense moral disingenuousness. For the right answer, the candidate has to examine his conscience and soul.

***P.R.*: You were one of the principal organizers of the Conservative Opportunity Society [a group of young conservative congressmen associated most visibly with Newt Gingrich]. What have been its most important accomplishments, and what mistakes has it made over the years?**

Weber: We got people's attention. That was an accomplishment. We encouraged greater activism among House Republicans, and successfully challenged the leadership of our own party in the House. Several of the Conservative Opportunity Society leaders are now in the Republican leadership themselves.

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Our major mistake has been to focus only on *wedge* issues against the Democrats, without also creating *magnet* issues that would attract the public. Both wedge and magnet issues are essential, but because we concentrated on the first while ignoring the second, we acquired a reputation as primarily negative and confrontational.

The rise of America's competitors is a sign of our strength, not weakness. Rapid growth in Asia and Europe is a triumph for America.

***P.R.*: What prospects do Republicans currently have for taking control of the Congress in 1992 or, for that matter, 2002?**

Weber: I expect a Republican majority in the House sometime in the next 10 years. Reapportionment will give us a few extra seats. So will retirements—we do better in open seats than we do challenging incumbents. Growing voter identification with the Republican Party, especially among younger people, will also have a gradual effect—a rolling realignment, if you will. I expect this to continue, because the Democrats have yet to get their act together in terms of moving back to the mainstream. Their party is increasingly controlled by left-wing activists. Dukakis was the most left-wing Democrat nominated for president since George McGovern, while his toughest challenger, Jesse Jackson, was even further to the left. So I don't see moderates and conservatives coming back to the Democratic Party.

On the issues side, we have to do three things to take control of Congress. We have to preserve our advantage in the national security debate by reminding voters that the Democrats want to take unacceptable risks with our national security. We have to continue to be the party of a strong and growing economy. And we have to put forward an agenda for domestic social programs that's better than the Democrats'.

***P.R.*: Why were the Democrats with their whopping congressional majority so unsuccessful pushing their legislative agenda last year?**

Weber: Gramm-Rudman spending limitations, combined with President Bush's opposition to a tax increase, have completely undermined the Democrats' ability to do what they do best—namely create new constituencies by creating new spending programs. I think the Democrats have also lost confidence in the political saliency or relevance of their own ideas. They still know what they believe in, but they have lost confidence that the public agrees with them. And, of course, there was chaos in the House Democratic leadership in 1989.

This year the Democrats may be able to do a little better, because they have a good leadership team in place—capable, honorable men who know how to make the House run. But they still lack an agenda that makes sense to the country, and I think they will have difficulty competing with a very popular president. Except on the environmental front, I don't expect many successes for the liberal agenda this year. And the environmental legislation will get through only because the president has embraced this issue, and said it's no longer a liberal agenda but one all Americans support.

If I were a Democratic strategist, I'd take a little risk and propose a tax increase together with significantly higher spending on my favorite programs. There is tremendous demoralization among Democratic activists now, because their party insists that a Republican president must propose the tax increase they need to provide more funding for Democratic constituencies.

***P.R.*: How are relations these days between House and Senate Republicans?**

Weber: There was a little hostility when the Senate Republicans were in the majority and we were in the minority, and we felt that they were not paying enough attention to us. Now I'd say there is very little hostility, but very little communication either. Building greater cooperation here has to be a top priority of the Republican Party and the conservative movement.

Frankly, though, I don't think there's going to be a very constructive dialogue between House and Senate Republicans until there is greater cohesiveness on the Senate side. Every Republican in the Senate seems to think he is some kind of Lone Ranger. The Senate Republicans probably need something like the Conservative Opportunity Society or, for that matter, the more moderate House '92 group, to prod their leadership toward greater cohesiveness and activism on behalf of the Republican agenda.

If we want to build a majority, we have to remedy the perception that government will be indifferent to the problems of the poor if conservatives gain control.

***P.R.*: What about relations between the House Republicans and the White House? Have they changed under President Bush?**

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Weber: They're better. I say this as a person who was not initially a Bush supporter in the past election. The relationship is better, because Bush, unlike Reagan, is a product of the Congress and, also unlike Reagan, is an extraordinary one-on-one politician. There are other things that Reagan did better than Bush, but in dealing with Congress this president really is a master. The president himself has done much to make the relationship with the House Republicans and between the whole Congress and the White House much better.

Bush also has a very competent congressional liaison team. Many of my colleagues focus their criticism of the White House on John Sununu, but this is probably part of his job description: the White House chief of staff is expected to take the heat from Congress. Sununu is the best chief of staff in the past 10 years. I just hope he doesn't get too frustrated with the inevitable tendency of congressmen in his own party to say, "The president can do no wrong, it's his chief of staff that's screwing everything up."

***P.R.*: Do you like the term "Imperial Congress"?**

Weber: No, I don't. The problem for conservatives is not congressional micromanagement, it's divided government. We've got to win control of the Congress. Like many other Republicans, I object strongly to Democrats in Congress micromanaging the Defense Department. But if the shoe were on the other foot, we'd take the opposite point of view.

I also think conservatives should favor a certain amount of congressional oversight. Otherwise we would be turning policy completely over to the bureaucracy. Most of the problems I hear about in discussions of congressional reform are not caused by the current structure of Congress; they are caused by bad policy or by some bad apples here. The answer is to elect better congressmen.

***P.R.*: Can Republicans get elected by running against the Congress?**

Weber: Running against Congress should be a very important part of Republican political strategy, but only if the emphasis is on policy. Anything else is gimmickry.

We need to run against the Congress that refuses to encourage choice and excellence in education. Against the Congress that creates ghettoes, encourages drug abuse, destroys families, and keeps people dependent on welfare. Against a Congress whose housing programs are

Photofest

"I don't think there's going to be a very constructive dialogue between House and Senate Republicans until there is greater cohesiveness on the Senate side. Every Republican in the Senate seems to think he is some kind of Lone Ranger."

dens of iniquity and begin depreciating in value the day they're built. The Congress is vulnerable on these issues, because it is the stronghold of the leftist party that is seeking simply to protect and expand the bureaucracy that's been in place far too long.

But ethics, campaign reform, and attacks on the structure of Congress are not winner issues. Reagan didn't accuse Carter of corruption or White House mismanagement. He won the debate on basic issues—management of the economy, keeping America strong, foreign policy. Then when we had won, we had really won something: the hearts and minds of the American people on fundamental issues. We aren't going to win any long-term battles if we decide we're going to focus on the ethics of Democratic members of Congress or on the processes of the Congress itself.

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Fish Story

The Great Acid Rain Flimflam

Edward C. Krug

For more than a dozen years, the conventional wisdom among scientists, environmentalists, and politicians has blamed acid rain for the depletion of game fisheries in the Adirondacks and Nova Scotia and for substantial damage to forests from Vermont to North Carolina. The government of Canada certainly takes this view, and regards acid rainclouds from the Midwest as one of its principal sources of tension with the United States. President Carter endorsed a report by his Council on Environmental Quality calling acid rain one of the two most serious environmental problems of the century. It is largely to reduce the acid in rain that President Bush's Clean Air legislation calls for a 50 percent reduction in sulfur dioxide emissions (10 million tons) by the year 2000, at an estimated cost of $4 billion to $7 billion per year.

The concerns that acid rain legislation is intended to address are legitimate and understandable. A number of rivers in Nova Scotia have lost most of their salmon over the past 40 years as they have become more acidic. Red spruce are dying on top of Camel's Hump in Vermont and Mount Mitchell in North Carolina. And there is no doubt that some fisheries in the Adirondacks are in a bad way. From the turn of the century until the 1950s, for instance, Lake Colden was one of the best trout fly fishing lakes in the eastern United States. Teddy Roosevelt fished there often and was vacationing at Lake Colden when President McKinley was shot. Today, Lake Colden is highly acidic (pH 5.0) and nearly fishless. It is held up as the classic case of acid rain's destructiveness.

Recent research, however, suggests that acid rain has little or nothing to do with these problems. Surveys of lakes in New England and New York show much less acidity than anticipated, while other studies show that acid rain has very little effect on surface water acidity. Perhaps most intriguing, studies of the fossil records in lake sediments reveal that many lakes that are acidic today have been highly acidic for centuries, except for several decades in the late 19th century and early 20th century when they were unnaturally alkaline.

Memories of trout and salmon in now fishless lakes and streams apparently date from a period of ecological aberration. A number of lakes in the Adirondacks and Nova Scotia that are naturally acidic became more alkaline for several decades in the late 19th century and early 20th century—when massive cutting of trees and burning of stumps by lumberers reduced the acidity of the forest floor, and soil runoff made it possible for species such as trout and salmon to survive. After lumbering and burning came to an end, forests grew back, and the soil runoff, and hence the waters, returned to their natural acidity. These changes in land use often dwarf in importance the impact of acid rain.

There is similarly no evidence of widespread forest decline in North America related to acid rain. Indeed, U.S. Forest Service statistics indicate that northeastern forests appear to be the most robust in the country. The principal concern is that acid rain may have damaged red spruce in high-altitude spruce/fir forests. But these forests make up only a fraction of 1 percent of eastern forests, and even here, the influence of acid rain is uncertain. The Environmental Protection Agency's National Acid Precipitation Assessment Project (NAPAP) has determined that other stress factors (killing winters and severe droughts over the past 40 years, such as occurred at Camel's Hump and other mountains) have been more important. Also, many species of trees and bushes—among them red and black spruce, oaks, balsam fir, eastern hemlock, rhododendrons, and blueberries—depend on acidic soil for their survival.

Control Soot, Emit Acid

There is no question that the rain and snow over the Appalachians, New England, and Nova Scotia are more acidic than normal. Rain over the Ohio Valley and Adirondacks has a pH of 4.2, while that over Nova Scotia has a pH of 4.6 to 4.8—compared with a pH of 5.0 for normal rainfall over forested areas. (Chemists use the measure pH to describe the concentration of hydrogen ion released into water by an acid. It is a negative log scale, so the smaller the number the greater the acidity; thus pH 4.0 water is 10 times more acidic than pH 5.0

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Edward C. Krug

Although Teddy Roosevelt caught trout at Lake Colden, the Adirondack lake has been fishless for most of its history.

water. Lemon juice has a pH of 2.0 and our stomach juices are pH 1.0. Apples have a pH of 3.0—meaning they are 16 times as acidic as Adirondack rain.)

Nor is there any question about the source of acid rain. It results from the combustion of fossil fuels, especially in the Midwest, and ironically it has been aggravated by environmental policies designed to reduce air pollution problems, especially soot, in areas such as Pittsburgh and Cleveland. Acid rain is created by burning fossil biomass. Carbon, nitrogen, and sulfur (present in all biological material) are converted to gases upon oxidation (burning). These gases combine with atmospheric water to form carbonic, nitric, and sulfuric acids.

When tall smokestacks were built to spread out emissions from the vicinity of Midwestern factories, acidic cloud formations were carried northeast by winds. The emissions also became more acidic as a result of measures such as particle precipitators and cleaner burning fuels to cut down on soot. (Soot contains alkaline substances that neutralize acid.) Efforts to alleviate local soot problems thus led to regional acid rain.

Sulfur Trouble

Widespread acid rain probably began by the 1940s in the Northeast. It peaked around 1973, when national sulfur dioxide emissions were measured at 31 million tons. Since then, sulfur dioxide emissions have fallen to 23 million tons in 1985, partly as a result of pollution controls and conservation, and replacement of older, more heavily polluting factories and power plants by state-of-the-art facilities as mandated under the Clean Air Act of 1970.

The major concern over acid rain has to do with sulfuric rather than nitric acid. This is because forest growth in eastern North America is limited by the availability of nitrogen as a nutrient. Essentially all of the nitric acid deposited in acid rain is absorbed as a nutrient by trees; little or none of it makes it to lakes and streams. However, deposition of sulfuric acid exceeds the nutritional requirements of the eastern forests and much, but not all, of the sulfate finds its way into lakes and streams.

Even normal rainfall in forested areas has a pH of 5.0, too acidic for most species of sport fish to survive in. Fish and many other species can survive in rainwater only because acids are naturally buffered by lime-like substances in rocks and mineral soils of lake and river drainage systems. Acid in watershed runoff is consumed by reaction with the alkalinity of lime-like substances that are found in many types of rocks and mineral soils that underlie watersheds and the bottoms of lakes and streams. The acidity of lakes in the Adirondacks and Nova Scotia results not from acid rain but from the absence of this natural buffering.

For Peat's Sake

Most lakes in the Northeast are not highly acidic, even though acid precipitation falls on the entire area. In 1980, before it had studied the situation, the EPA asserted that the acidity of northeastern lakes had increased 100-fold (a decrease of two pH units) as a result

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Giant Mountain, 1912. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Adirondack lakes were unnaturally alkaline as a result of slash-and-burn forestry.

of acid rain. But a 1984 lake survey by NAPAP found that only 240 of New England's and New York's more than 7,000 lakes are "acid-dead"—that is, have a pH of 5.0 or lower. The survey found that in the whole eastern United States there are only 630 acid lakes, representing 35,000 of the approximately 200 million acres of water in the East, or less than one-fiftieth of 1 percent of the water. Over half the acid lake capacity—20,000 acres—is in Florida, which does not receive high rates of acid rain.

Further studies by NAPAP in 1988 and 1989 suggest that since 1850 there has been no increase in acidity in lakes with a pH above 5.5; these lakes have granite and gravel bottoms with sufficient lime to neutralize the acid in rain. For Adirondack lakes with a pH under 5.5, NAPAP concluded that there has been some acidification, but on average by less than half a pH unit.

Attention on acid rain now focuses primarily on the Adirondacks rather than on the entire Northeast, because studies show that 10 percent of Adirondack lakes (or 24 percent, depending on what is included as a lake) have a pH of 5.0 or lower.

There are much more important reasons than acid rain, however, to explain their acidity. The Adirondack

Normal rainfall in forested areas has a pH of 5.0, too acidic for most species of sport fish to survive in.

lakes in question are in poorly buffered and, therefore, naturally acidic watersheds. Their rocks are poor in lime-like substances; their watersheds are mantled by highly acidic, very thick peaty forest floors, and leaching of water through the soil produces a low-nutrient environment where acid-producing trees and plants, such as sphagnum mosses, are common. In fact, a recently completed multimillion dollar biological and chemical survey of over 1,400 Adirondack lakes and ponds observed a striking correlation between biology and acidity—sphagnum mosses are associated with acid lakes. Oak Ridge National Laboratory determined that acid Adirondack lakes tend to be concentrated in watersheds having coniferous forests and the most acidic soils.

Bark Eaters

Perhaps the most important studies of the Adirondacks by NAPAP have involved the examination of fossil organisms and chemicals buried in lake sediments—what scientists call paleolimnology. The pH balances of earlier periods can be determined with considerable precision by examining algae fossils in conjunction with radio-isotope dating, because different species of algae are present with different pH levels. These studies reveal that high-altitude Adirondack lakes, including Lake Colden and Woods Lake, have been fishless for most of their history. They also reveal that these lakes temporarily lost some of their natural acidity during the mid-to-late 19th and early 20th centuries—and during this period were filled with fish. Woods Lake, for instance, was acid-dead (pH 5.0 or lower) in 1850, long before there was any acid rain. Beginning in the 1860s, the lake became gradually more alkaline, peaking at a pH of 5.7 in 1910. It has since reacidified, and now has a pH of 4.8

These findings are consistent with what we know from history. The Indians never lived in the Adirondacks. The Iroquois word "Adirondack" means "bark eater," telling us that the food supply, including fish, was never plentiful. Most Adirondack waters have always been cold and unproductive. The few excellent fisheries were generally confined to the few large lowland lakes and rivers that the Indians traveled to pass through the Adirondacks.

Initial European settlement and activity damaged what fisheries there were. For example, Atlantic salmon were eliminated from Lake Champlain by the 1830s and lake trout have disappeared from the lake since 1880.

Since the 1800s, the Adirondacks have been well known to fishery experts for their massive stocking failures. Tens of millions of fish have been put into waters where they promptly died. Great Lakes whitefish were introduced as food for trout. But these whitefish grew too large for trout to eat. Competition from whitefish, along with the fisherman's preference to catch trout, reduced or eliminated trout populations. Introduction of bass and yellow perch outcompeted and eliminated trout fisheries from many ponds and streams.

Devastation on Land, Fish in the Lakes

However, there were successful stockings of brown and brook trout in the mid-to-late 19th century, when the Adirondacks became a major center for lumbering and paper pulp—and also for the destructive slash-and-burn methods that until recently were typical of logging. Cutting was invariably followed by fires. Fuel was plentiful—left-over cuttings, the luxuriant mosses and thick peaty forest floor exposed to the sun and air, became dry and highly flammable. In 1903, in a two-month conflagration rivaling the Yellowstone fires of 1988,

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Adirondack fires literally burned in their own updraft, like chimney fires sweeping up the mountainsides. Witnesses compared the burning mountains to "smoldering volcanoes." The sun became big and orange; stars were blocked out at night.

The cumulative devastation was horrible. According to an official history published by the Adirondack Museum, "Logging and fires changed the Adirondacks more drastically and rapidly than any factors since these mountains first rose above the sea." The landscape was denuded, and severe erosion washed away the underlying thin and rocky mineral soils. Runoff from the land became much more alkaline. Forests gone, spongy and water-absorbent mosses and the acidic peaty forest floor were burned off and replaced by alkaline ash. The ironic result, though, was that sport fish could now survive in lakes that had previously been uninhabitable.

Unprecedented disturbance in the Adirondacks was then followed by unprecedented protection. Plans for the "Forever Wild" Adirondack Park and Forest Preserve were established in 1892, and the state of New York gradually acquired parkland, much of it purchased literally at fire-sale prices from lumber and paper companies that were abandoning their devastated forests. Since about 1915, laws against cutting and burning have been seriously enforced. Forest fires are now put out quickly. As a result, the forests, acid peaty soils, and acid-requiring and acid-producing trees and mosses are coming back. And lakes that historically have been highly acidic are nearing their natural pH balances.

To add to the pressure on fisheries from natural acidification, the beauty of the mountains and improved public transportation resulted in a massive increase in the number of fishermen. Registration in Adirondack public campgrounds rose from 37,000 in 1927 to 950,000 in 1970. In addition, these campers were very uncomfortable with insects, particularly blackflies. DDT was mixed into cement bricks and deposited into the waters to slowly release DDT over the years to kill the flies. The elimination of flies contributed to the disappearance of the trout that relied on them for food.

The Key to Lox

The experience in Nova Scotia is similar to that of the Adirondacks. Nova Scotia has more acid lakes and streams than any other area of North America; indeed nearly half of its lakes have a pH lower than 4.7. Salmon have been disappearing as lakes and streams have become more acidic, and fingers are pointing to acid rain as the culprit. The concern is perfectly understandable, but the rain over Nova Scotia is only one-third as acidic as that over the Adirondacks.

As in the Adirondacks, Nova Scotia has a history of slash-and-burn lumbering followed by reforestation, and a long history of fishery problems. A 1986 study of Nova Scotian fisheries by Environment Canada (the Canadian version of our EPA) noted the severe burning of forests in the province at the turn of the century, with 90 percent of southwestern Nova Scotia (where salmon depletion is most pronounced) then being mapped as treeless barrens. The soils—little more than peaty forest floor and moss—were literally burned down to the underlying granite bedrock leaving behind alkaline ash. By 1954, however, about half of the land was forested, and in 1970, 70 percent was forested. The effects on lakes were the same as in the Adirondacks: forest runoff became more alkaline, and then returned to its natural acidic state.

The process is confirmed in sediment studies, which again, as in the case of the Adirondacks, reveal that lakes are acidifying after a period when they were unnaturally alkaline.

Kejimkujik Lake, 10 square miles of water in the heart of the acid lake and river district of southwestern Nova Scotia, had a pH of 4.0 in 1850. In the decades thereafter, lake pH rose to about 5.0 with cutting and burning of the watershed. With forest recovery, the lake has reacidified slightly to pH 4.8. While the sediment record shows that Kejimkujik Lake has become somewhat more acidic over the past 30 years, it is still not as acidic as it was before cutting and burning.

The acidity of lakes in the Adirondacks and Nova Scotia results not from acid rain but from acid soil and an absence of natural buffering.

Rivers of Hunger

Experience in Norway is also comparable. Acid rainclouds coming from Britain and Germany have been blamed for the recent depletion of trout in lakes in southern Norway. But this is not the first time these lakes had lost their fish. Viking legend is filled with stories of fishing lakes and streams that went barren as a result of "sinful" behavior. The medieval Norwegian language even had a word for lakes without fish, *fiskelostjern*. Sediment analyses of Lake Langtjern, the most studied acid lake in the country, show that it was more acidic 800 years ago (pH 4.3) than it is today (pH 4.7). Studies of two other Norwegian lakes show a sharp increase in acidity (from pH 5.5 to pH 4.5) between 1350 and 1500, when forests grew back because the plague of 1349 killed two-thirds of Norway's population. Of the 12 Norwegian lakes with published sediment records, 11 were acidic prior to the industrial era.

Between 1850 and 1900—long before tall smokestacks and particle precipitators—there was a sharp increase in the acidity of many Norwegian lakes and streams, and a corresponding decline in fisheries. The geologist Ivan Rosenqvist developed the theory of changing land use to explain the phenomenon. After 1850 an exodus of population to the New World, combined with modern agricultural and forestry practices, put an end to traditional slash-and-burn methods that had been used to burn off acid soils and acid-producing vegetation. Mar-

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Harvey Olem

A twist of lime for Woods Lake. It would cost $500,000 a year to neutralize through liming all acid lakes in the Northeast.

ginal rocky and mountainous lands were abandoned and afterward covered by lichens, moss, heath, and forest. Acidic peaty soils and acid-producing vegetation increasingly covered the landscape. According to Rosenqvist, it was these watershed changes that most affected the pH balance of surface waters.

The notion that acid rain is responsible for acidity in lakes and streams is also contradicted by the existence of highly acidic surface waters in regions without acid precipitation. Fraser Island, Cooloola National Park, and Tasmania in Australia, and the Westland area of New Zealand have no acid rain, yet are filled with highly acidic lakes and streams. Indeed the magnitude of acidic surface waters in areas without acid rain dwarfs that of areas supposedly "devastated" by acid rain. In the Amazon basin, a river system the size of the Mississippi, the Rio Negro, is naturally acidic and fishless. The naturalist and explorer Alexander von Humboldt wrote about these "rivers of hunger" nearly 200 years ago, definitely predating industrial activity in this part of the world.

Clear as Acid

The return to natural acidity in the lakes and streams of Nova Scotia and the Adirondacks is obviously a disappointment to sport fishermen. It is not clear, though, why this acidification should otherwise be considered an environmental problem. On the contrary, the acidity of lakes frequently contributes to their beauty, particularly the crystal clarity of acidic waters with little living in them. And swimmers do not have to worry about nuisances such as slimy green algae or leeches. Lake Colden and the other fishless High Peak lakes are the Adirondack Park's most visited. Similarly, the clear acidic lakes of the Cape Cod National Seashore (an area with almost as many acid lakes as the Adirondacks) are so popular that the National Park Service has deliberately underdeveloped swimming and hiking access to them to prevent overuse.

If, however, the loss of fish is considered a problem, then multibillion dollar controls on sulfur dioxide emissions are not the solution. Since lake acidification results much more from the absence of natural buffering than from acid rain, reductions in the sources of acid rain simply are not going to be effective in restoring fisheries. According to NAPAP's acidification model projections, a 30 percent reduction in rain acidity over 20 years would deacidify only 26 northeastern lakes.

A much less expensive and more effective solution is to do what farmers and gardeners do with acid soil: add lime. Lime dropped from a helicopter buffers acids in watersheds in exactly the same way that cutting and burning, or limestone in rocks and gravel, does. A NAPAP study estimates that all Adirondack lakes and ponds more acidic than pH 5.7 can be limed for $170,000 per year. Extrapolating this study to the entire Northeast, all acid lakes in New England and New York could be limed for under $500,000 per year.

Over the past several years, scientists have added lime to Woods Lake. But, like most acidic headwater lakes, lime placed directly into the lake gets flushed out too quickly to be very useful. Therefore, in the fall of 1989, scientists limed the acidic soils surrounding Woods Lake so that the lime will slowly dissolve over time to wash alkalinity into the lake. It's a simple answer that is much less expensive than emission controls, and it has the advantage of working.

Similarly, the overall health of high-altitude red spruce forests can be improved by low-cost, low-rate application of a balanced neutral nutrient salt mix, as is being done in Europe. Liming is not appropriate in these forests because it can reduce acidity, thereby adversely affecting red spruce and similar trees that actually require acidity. Improved nutrient status enables forests to better resist all types of stress ranging from climate and disease to air pollution.

Of course, environmentalists concerned with preserving natural acidic aquatic ecosystems will be at odds with those who want to lime lakes and streams in order to go fishing. This conflict has come to a head in Cape Cod, where the National Park Service cites its mandate to "protect the natural ecosystems of its parks" in resisting pressure to "improve" acid lakes by liming. Liming would kill the sphagnum mosses that grow deep in the bottoms of these lakes. The question is whether we want sphagnum mosses or fish; we usually can't have both.

The response among most American and Canadian voters is almost certainly to be fish. If so, the central question for acid rain policy is this: Do we want to spend billions of dollars a year on emissions controls that won't put back fish in lakes and streams that used to have them? Or do we want to spend hundreds of thousands of dollars a year on a simple policy that will? ☎

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IS THE CURRICULUM BIASED?

A Statement by the National Association of Scholars

American higher education is facing widespread demands to eliminate the allegedly "Eurocentric" and "patriarchal" bias of the curriculum. While the details vary from campus to campus, these demands tend to focus on four objectives:

- ◊ *that the "canon" be revised to include more works by blacks, other ethnic minorities, and women;*
- ◊ *that "the issues of race, gender, and class" be introduced into a greater variety of courses;*
- ◊ *that more courses in women's studies and minority studies be developed;*
- ◊ *that courses in women's studies and/or minority studies be required of all undergraduates.*

Various justifications are commonly proffered for making these changes. It is alleged that:

- ◊ *works by minorities, women, and Third World authors have been excluded from the curriculum;*
- ◊ *minority and female students feel alienated and their educational progress is retarded by being asked to study works primarily by white males;*
- ◊ *in order to overcome their own prejudices, white males must become acquainted with the cultures and problems of minorities and with the perspectives and problems of women;*
- ◊ *the traditional curriculum represents the hegemony of Western culture, covertly supports a status quo inherently oppressive of women and minorities, and is unfairly imposed on students from different cultures;*
- ◊ *the traditional desiderata of truth, objectivity, and critical intelligence can be met only by adding the perspectives of women and minorities and by facing up to the new questions they raise;*
- ◊ *an increasingly diverse society and interdependent world require that our citizens gain greater understanding of different cultures.*

The **National Association of Scholars** *disputes* the first five of these arguments and believes that the last entails something other than the changes being proposed.

First, any work, whether formerly neglected or widely known, should be added, retained, or removed from the curriculum on the basis of its conformance to generally applicable intellectual and aesthetic standards. A sound curriculum cannot be built by replacing those standards with the principle of proportional representation of authors, classified ethnically, biologically, or geographically.

Second, the idea that students will be discouraged by not encountering more works by members of their own race, sex, or ethnic group, even were it substantiated, would not justify adding inferior works. Such paternalism conveys a message opposite to the one desired.

Third, other cultures, minority subcultures, and social problems have long been studied in the liberal arts curriculum in such established disciplines as history, literature, comparative religion, economics, political science, anthropology, and sociology. But more important, mere acquaintance with differences does not guarantee tolerance, an ideal Western in origin and fostered by knowledge of what is common to us all.

Fourth, the idea that the traditional curriculum "excludes" the contributions of all but males of European descent is patently false. From their beginnings, Western art and science have drawn upon the achievements of non-Western societies and since have been absorbed and further enriched by peoples around the globe. That the liberal arts oppress minorities and women is yet more ludicrous. Even if the curriculum were confined to thought strictly European in origin, it would still present a rich variety of conflicting ideas, including the very concepts of equality and freedom from oppression invoked by those who would reorient the curriculum.

Fifth, while diversity of background is valuable to the discussion of issues to which those differences are germane, objectivity is in general not enhanced but subverted by the idea that people of different sexes, races, or ethnic backgrounds necessarily see things differently. The assertion that cognition is determined by group membership is itself an example of stereotypic thinking which undermines the possibility of a true community of discourse.

Sixth, the study of the traditions and achievements of other nations and of ethnic subcultures is important and should be encouraged. But this must proceed in a manner that is intellectually honest and does not serve as a pretext for inserting polemics into the curriculum. Furthermore, "multicultural education" should not take place at the expense of studies that transcend cultural differences: the truths of mathematics, the sciences, history, and so on, are not different for people of different races, sexes, or cultures, and for that reason alone their study is liberating. Nor should we further attenuate the study of the traditions of the West. Not only is knowledge of those traditions essential for any evaluation of our own institutions, it is increasingly relevant to our understanding of other nations, which, in striking testament to the universality of the values they embody, are rapidly adapting Western practices to their own situations.

The **National Association of Scholars** is in favor of ethnic studies, the study of non-Western cultures, and the study of the special problems of women and minorities in our society, but it opposes subordinating entire humanities and social science curricula to such studies and it views with alarm their growing politicization. Efforts purportedly made to introduce "other points of view" and "pluralism" often seem in fact designed to restrict attention to a narrow set of issues, tendentiously defined. An examination of many women's studies and minority studies courses and programs discloses little study of other cultures and much excoriation of our society for its alleged oppression of women, blacks, and others. The banner of "cultural diversity" is apparently being raised by some whose paramount interest actually lies in attacking the West and its institutions.

We urge our colleagues to demand clear explanations and cogent arguments in support of the proposals being so rapidly brought before them, and to reject any that cannot be justified. The curriculum is and should be open to change, but we must rebut the false charges being made against existing disciplines. We must also reject the allegations of "racism" and "sexism" that are frequently leveled against honest critics of the new proposals, and which only have the effect of stifling much-needed debate.

Copies of this statement or additional information about the **National Association of Scholars** and its activities, including its Fellows Program, Research Center, Speakers Bureau, state and regional affiliates, conferences, local membership events, executive and faculty search services, and its quarterly *Academic Questions*, may be obtained by writing to the **National Association of Scholars, Suite 250 East, Twenty Nassau Street, Princeton, NJ 08542**, or by calling **609-683-7878**.

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Into the Wild Blue Yonder

Should We Abolish the Air Force?

JEFFREY RECORD

Whether or not the Cold War is over, the United States will still need air power. It is not as clear that we need a separate Air Force independent of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps.

The decision in 1947 to create an independent U.S. Air Force rested on two claims, one intellectual, the other bureaucratic. The intellectual claim was the proposition that air power, and more specifically strategic bombardment, afforded a quick and relatively cheap means of winning wars autonomously, independently of the actions of surface forces. The theory had two corollaries: the functioning of the modern industrial state could be brought to a halt via the aerial destruction of carefully selected elements of its industrial infrastructure; and there was no truly effective defense, direct or indirect, against strategic bombardment.

By (some would say deliberate) omission, the theory more or less ignored the role and value of tactical air power, which, because its ultimate purpose was (and remains) to assist the progress of surface forces, provided no convincing justification for an independent air force. As the historian Michael S. Sherry has observed, "No doctrine except strategic air power satisfied the drive to achieve an independent air force that would bring personal status, power, and probably most important, professional respectability."

No Nuclear Monopoly

The Air Force's bureaucratic claim for independence, although clearly secondary to its intellectual claim, derived from its monopoly in the immediate postwar era of both atomic weapons and their means of delivery (long-range bombers). According to Max Hastings, author of *The Korean War*, "It was The Bomb, and the Air Force's new stature as its carrier, that clinched the American Air Force argument for becoming a separate and equal service." The theory of victory through air power was strengthened by the subsequent arrival of thermonuclear weapons in large numbers, as it became possible, quickly and relatively cheaply, to destroy a modern industrial state as a functioning entity, and to do so autonomously from the air.

Since the late 1940s, however, a number of developments have invalidated the original intellectual and bureaucratic claims for an independent air force. There is, first, the obvious: the disappearance of the Air Force's monopoly of nuclear weapons within the American military. All four services, including the Marine Corps, long ago acquired tactical nuclear weapons; and even strategic nuclear weapons, along with their means of delivery, are shared between the Air Force and the Navy. The Navy's share of the strategic nuclear mission may grow significantly at the Air Force's expense during the coming decade, given the development of new sea-based missile technologies and declining domestic political support for new land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles and manned strategic bombers—the Air Force "legs" of the so-called strategic nuclear triad.

Moreover, as the preferred means of delivering either strategic or tactical nuclear weapons, the manned aircraft so central to the conception of an independent Air Force have been largely displaced by ballistic and cruise missiles. The heavy bomber, once the sole vehicle for delivering strategic nuclear weapons, has taken a back seat to land-based ICBMs and submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs). The inventory of bombers in the Air Force's Strategic Air Command (SAC) is smaller today than at almost any time since 1947, and the expense of building and maintaining a bomber force capable of penetrating modern air defenses has become so exorbitant as to call into question its future cost-effectiveness. The new B-2 bomber, for example, already has a program unit cost of almost $600 million, or 50 times the inflation-adjusted cost of the 1944 B-29, the most expensive and sophisticated bomber of World War II.

A case has been made, on the grounds of both peacetime budgetary and administrative as well as wartime operational efficiency, for concentrating all three components of the triad, including the bombers and ICBMs of the Strategic Air Command into a single new service. SAC, the largest (in terms of personnel) of the Air Force's 13 major commands, is already the only

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specified command of any service that reports directly to the Joint Chiefs of Staff and not its parent service, making it virtually a second independent air force. The Soviet Union, the world's only other comparable nuclear power, made this decision almost 30 years ago when it created the Strategic Rocket Forces. (China's ICBMs and SLBMs are also formed into a service separate from its navy and air force.)

To deprive the Air Force of its strategic nuclear bombardment mission would make the service almost exclusively tactical in orientation, competing for tactical air dollars with the Navy and Marine Corps. And the value of a SAC-less Air Force, like that of Navy and Marine Corps aviation, would derive primarily from its contribution to *combined* operations involving surface forces. Although the Air Force's present major tactical combat missions—air superiority, interdiction, and close air support—would remain unchanged, none is truly autonomous; their ultimate purpose is to assist the progress of the land battle.

Did Air Power Win World War II?

The intellectual argument for an independent air force has also been undermined by U.S. military experience since 1947. In neither Korea nor Vietnam did strategic bombardment or interdiction campaigns prove strategically decisive, except in the negative, albeit critical, sense of precluding the outright defeat of U.S. ground forces. Moreover, Air Force claims then and since that air campaigns could have been war-winners but for political restrictions imposed on the new use of air power by ignorant or timorous military amateurs who were setting policy in Washington are simply not supported by the available evidence; U.S. aircraft dropped, in terms of weight of ordnance, almost three times the bomb tonnage in Indochina that Army air forces dropped in all theaters in World War II, a conflict in which few Vietnam-like restrictions were placed on air power's application.

Even in World War II, the claims for air power's decisiveness were greatly exaggerated. Although Nazi Germany's surrender was hastened by the Anglo-American Combined Bomber Offensive, Germany's decision to capitulate came only with its conquest on the ground. The proposition that a properly conducted strategic bombardment campaign invited no effective defense was shattered by the degeneration of the Combined Bomber Offensive into a grisly war of attrition, a development highlighted in late 1943 by the U.S. suspension of unescorted daylight precision bombing raids in the face of prohibitive losses in bombers and crews.

Strategic bombardment made a more decisive contribution to the defeat of Japan, which was uniquely vulnerable to massed air attack; its cities were heavily congested and constructed largely of wood, and throughout the war lacked all but the most rudimentary air defenses, firefighting capabilities, and air raid shelters. But the success of the U.S. air campaign against Japan was made possible only by the two years of bloody amphibious and surface naval actions in the Central Pacific that finally brought U.S. B-29s within range of the Japanese home islands. And even after Nagasaki, it is not clear that the Japanese military command would have surrendered, short of an invasion of the home islands, without the personal intervention of the emperor.

Indecisiveness in Korea

The case for air power's decisiveness has been weaker in the kinds of wars that the United States has had to fight since 1947. The pioneer air power theorists all assumed unlimited war against other industrial states. Alexander P. De Seversky wrote in 1943 in *Victory Through Air Power*, "Total war from the air against an undeveloped country or region is well nigh futile; it is one of the curious features of the most modern weapon that it is especially effective against the most modern types of civilization." The futility was demonstrated in Korea and Vietnam, where preindustrial states, especially totalitarian ones that staked their military prowess on elusive infantries, proved relatively invulnerable to collapse via aerial bombardment.

The air war in Korea was condemned from the start to indecisiveness by the very nature of the country and the enemy within. As in Vietnam over a decade later, American air power in Korea found itself facing an enemy relying on logistically austere field forces and on an economy lacking industrially decisive targets. The types of air campaigns waged against Germany and Japan in World War II were simply of little relevance in the Hermit Kingdom.

An excellent example was Operation Strangle of 1951-52, the most sustained aerial interdiction campaign of the war. Designed to compel a northward withdrawal of

The evolution of modern combat has blurred the distinction between aerial and ground battle.

Chinese forces by isolating the forward battle area, Strangle failed because its plan overestimated Chinese dependence on railroads and highways as well as Chinese supply requirements (a Chinese division required 50 tons of supplies per day compared with over 600 tons for a U.S. division), and underestimated Chinese air defenses and ability to repair bomb damage quickly. Nor was Strangle carried out with impunity, despite U.N. mastery of the air. The Far East Air Force lost 343 aircraft (mostly to ground fire), while receiving only 131 replacements.

Failure in Vietnam

As for the U.S. air war in Indochina, there is no question that its potential effectiveness was inhibited by excessive civilian micromanagement and a gradualist approach based on questionable intellectual propositions (bombing as predominantly a form of political communication) and political premises (an unwarranted

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fear of Chinese intervention stemming from the Korean experience). However, this conclusion does not lead to the judgment that an unrestricted air campaign against North Vietnam and its military lines of communication to South Vietnam would have delivered decisive results. The costs of the air war that was waged, considering the results achieved, were embarrassing. According to Alain Enthoven and K. Wayne Smith in *How Much Is Enough? Shaping the Defense Program, 1961-1969*, Rolling Thunder, the U.S. air campaign against North Vietnam between 1965 and 1968, caused about $600 million in damage, against a loss of $6 billion in destroyed U.S. aircraft, to say nothing of casualties and the scores of captured American pilots who provided Hanoi immense bargaining leverage at the Paris peace talks.

Air Force claims that subsequent massive B-52 strikes against previously prohibited targets in Haiphong and Hanoi (Operations Linebacker I and II of 1972) succeeded in forcing Hanoi finally to accept a cease-fire are probably true. However, given the ultimate outcome of the war, the terms of that cease-fire (which, by permitting North Vietnamese forces in the south to remain in place, vitiated the main rationale for U.S. intervention in Vietnam) hardly constituted an American victory. Instead, President Nixon used air power in 1972 as a means of ending U.S. participation in the war on terms that would provide a "decent interval" before South Vietnam's likely collapse.

And the retrospective argument, that victory could have been achieved had Linebacker II been initiated in 1965 rather than seven years later, ignores the entirely different nature of the war in 1965. The main threat to South Vietnam's political integrity in 1965 (aside from a corrupt and incompetent government in Saigon) was not the North Vietnamese army, but rather a Vietcong insurgency in the south that only later became critically dependent on northern supplies and manpower. The truth is that before the Tet offensive of 1968 the war in South Vietnam was predominantly an indigenous guerrilla conflict in which the insurgents supplied themselves largely from local sources (including arms and ammunition captured or bribed from government forces).

Modern military technology has vastly increased the vulnerability of all fixed installations, including air bases.

The prevailing Air Force view, manifest in official lectures at the Air University, remains pretty much what General William W. Momyer, commander of the 7th Air Force in Vietnam, expressed back in 1969: "We had the force, skill, and intelligence [to win the war], but our civilian betters wouldn't turn us loose." Yet, as Mark Clodfelter has pointed out in what is perhaps the best book to date on the air war in Vietnam, *The Limits of Air Power: The American Bombing of North Vietnam*:

> Vietnam's political controls were no anomalies; the atomic bomb has made them a standard feature of war in the modern era. For the Air Force, the guerrilla struggle during most of the Vietnam war was an unacknowledged anomaly that may well reappear. If it does, military controls will again be likely to limit air power's efficacy as a political tool. Bombing doctrine remains geared to a fast-paced conventional war, and the conviction that such doctrine is appropriate for any kind of conflict permeates the service. Until air commanders and civilian officials alike realize that air power is unlikely to provide either "cheapness" or "victory" in a guerrilla war—and that success in such a conflict may well equate to stalemate—the prospect of an aerial Verdun will endure.

Ignoring Tactical Air Support

To assert that the original intellectual and bureaucratic foundations of an independent Air Force have long since fallen by the wayside in no way denigrates air power's indispensability. Without strategic and tactical air superiority, the United States and Great Britain could not even have dreamed of establishing and maintaining a foothold in France in 1944; in Korea, as U.N. commander General Matthew B. Ridgway concluded, air power "save[d] us from disaster on more than one occasion"; and even in Vietnam, the lives of countless U.S. troops (*e.g.*, the Marines at Khe Sanh) were saved by it. In none of these cases, however, was a *strategic* decision (other than preventing defeat) obtained through air power. Indeed, air power was most effective, and at times decisive, when employed *tactically* in combination with surface ground and naval forces.

The evolution of modern combat has increasingly blurred the distinction between its aerial and ground components. Armies, with their ever-increasing number of helicopters, and tactical air forces, always dependent on ground troops for air base security, are becoming increasingly reliant upon one another for their survival—a trend certain to continue. As the British military expert Chris Bellamy has put it, it is becoming "quite impossible to disentangle what happens on the battlefield from the air above it." Armies are increasingly dependent on airborne platforms for surveillance, target acquisition, and communications; indeed U.S. Army doctrine no longer speaks of the "land battle" and the "air battle," but rather of the "airland battle." This merger of air and ground operations has already prompted renewed congressional interest in transferring at least the close air support mission from the Air Force to the Army, although it is not self-evident that the Army, even if given the appropriate resources, would do an appreciably better close air support job than the Air Force. This merger also raises the broader question of whether it any longer makes sense to continue to separate control of tactical

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air power as a whole from ground force commanders, the principal consumers of tactical air power.

For example, the Army is the predominant user of not only close air support but also strategic and tactical airlift, and there have been recurring charges that Air Force devotion to airlift, like close air support, has been less than wholehearted for the very reason that the Air Force is not the prime beneficiary of either mission. And therefore, it is argued, at least tactical airlift (along with close air support) ought to be transferred to the service that is the prime beneficiary.

Air Base Survivability

A related concern involves the Air Force's failure to adequately address new "threat" technologies that question the initial survivability of air bases and their subsequent maintainability in war. Unlike most other combat-experienced air forces in the world, the Air Force has been fortunate in never having had its rear-area network of bases seriously threatened by enemy action. It has never been preempted on its home bases, as were the Soviet air force in 1941 and the Egyptian air force in 1967; and, except for a few brief moments on December 7, 1941, the U.S. has never had to fight for air superiority over its national territory, as did the British Royal Air Force in 1940 and the German Luftwaffe from 1943 to 1945. In Korea, most Air Force operations were conducted from the sanctuary of Japan (a haven far more valuable relative to the U.S. war effort than were the trans-Yalu sanctuaries initially to Communist operations), which was never violated by the enemy. In the Vietnam war, the Air Force enjoyed not only indispensable sanctuaries in Thailand and Guam (as did naval air in the Gulf of Tonkin) but also complete air supremacy in the south; and not a single one of its air bases in the south, although subjected to occasional shelling and acts of sabotage, was ever rendered permanently untenable by enemy action.

This peculiar historical experience (or, better put, *in*experience) has accustomed all too many Air Force planners to take air base survivability for granted (as it has accustomed U.S. Army planners to take U.S. air superiority for granted). Yet, modern military technology has vastly increased the vulnerability of all fixed installations, including air bases. In addition to the traditional threats of enemy ground and bombing attacks employing standard munitions, air bases now face swift physical destruction or at least temporary operational paralysis in the form of ballistic missile-delivered chemical agents and precision and "smart" area munitions, including runway-buckling ordnance.

The question of air base survivability is particularly acute in Europe, where Air Force aircraft are deployed at a relatively small number of large bases close to an enormous threat that is assumed to enjoy the advantage of striking first. The Air Force acknowledges the problem of air base survivability, but has yet to devise an effective response. The option of substituting land-based cruise and ballistic missiles for aircraft as a means of performing the deep interdiction mission is foreclosed by the INF Treaty of 1987; in any event, the Air Force's "enthusiasm" for such unmanned systems as stand-off cruise missiles

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POW returns home. The U.S. air campaign against North Vietnam from 1965–1968 caused $600 million in damage, but lost $6 billion in U.S. aircraft, to say nothing of the captured American pilots who provided Hanoi bargaining leverage at the peace talks.

and remotely piloted vehicles has always taken a back seat to its love of flying and airplanes. Redeploying a portion of European-based Air Force aircraft to North America is politically unattractive absent a negotiated agreement with the Soviet Union. And, for reasons rooted in the Air Force's own aircraft design prejudices, no investment has been made in vertical and short take off and landing (VSTOL) aircraft, which can operate without runways. (The VSTOL Harrier aircraft forms a notable component of both the U.S. Marine Corps aviation and the Royal Air Force deployments in Germany.)

Political Loss of Air Bases

For the Air Force, all of whose aircraft are land based, the problem of wartime air base survivability is compounded by a continuing political loss of bases overseas in peacetime. Facilities ashore, including air bases, require the political acquiescence of host countries, a commodity in increasingly short supply for the U.S. military worldwide. The Air Force played no role in U.S. military operations in the Persian Gulf in 1987–1988 because the requisite political conditions were absent; in contrast, sea-based air power, although far more expensive than land-based aviation, is relatively independent of other countries' political good will, and was employed extensively and effectively in the Persian Gulf. Even in areas where the Air Force has traditionally enjoyed comparatively unfettered access (Europe, Northeast Asia, and the Philippines) the trend is toward fewer bases and more political restrictions on American use of those remaining. The immense overseas basing network that the Air Force enjoyed in the immediate postwar era has diminished to a mere shadow of its former self; in the Third World especially, hosting a foreign military

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presence, particularly an American one, has come to be seen as an affront to national sovereignty and a threat to domestic political legitimacy. Today there are only 28 overseas air bases hosting at least one squadron of Air Force fixed-wing aircraft, and of that number, 18 are located in Europe, with another six in Japan and Korea.

The implications of mounting political restrictions on Air Force operations overseas were particularly troubling to the presidentially appointed Commission on Integrated Long-Term Strategy, chaired by Fred Iklé and Albert Wohlstetter, which reported:

> Present strategy recognizes the potential of our air power but requires us to depend on an uncertain prospect: that if an attack seemed imminent, we could then get the needed bases. But hints of attack, and the intimidating crisis atmosphere presumably accompanying them, could make our allies more than ever reluctant to call us in. Our major problem, then, is that except for carrier-based aircraft and long-range land-based aircraft, we have no assured timely access for our air power.

The Air Force also acknowledges the overseas basing problem, but again, no effective solutions have been forthcoming. An obvious, if partial, means of overcoming the problem would be increased investment in intercontinental-range air power, which is more or less liberated from dependence on in-theater facilities. To be sure, during the past decade the Air Force has made a massive investment in long-range air power (the B-52 modernization, B-1B, and B-2 programs), but it is an investment tied almost exclusively to the strategic nuclear retaliatory mission *vis à vis* the Soviet Union. Moreover, no amount of modernization can keep more than a fraction of the aging B-52 fleet in service much beyond the end of this century. The B-1B program was capped at 100 aircraft, and mounting concern over the cost, technological performance, and questionable mission of the B-2 makes full program completion most unlikely.

All of this portends a continued decline in the size of the U.S. strategic bomber force, from the present 359 aircraft to a maximum size (upon retirement of the last B-52) of 229 (assuming no more B-1B crashes and full program completion of the B-2 at 132 units) or even a paltry 110 (if the B-2 program were canceled after completion of the 13 B-2s now under construction or in flight testing). Either force would have great difficulty in fulfilling the manned bomber component's share of the Single Integrated Operational Plan, or SIOP (which specifies procedures for fighting a nuclear war), to say nothing of meeting non-SIOP strategic bombardment requirements in the Third World. (Since 1945, U.S. intercontinental bombers have been employed in combat only in non-nuclear strikes against targets in the Third World.) At the very time when the contraction of the U.S. overseas basing network is placing a premium upon long-range air power, the U.S. strategic bomber force is condemned to further significant contraction.

Can Army Do Better?

The voiding of the original intellectual and bureaucratic claims for an independent air force, the more recent and unforeseen (certainly in 1947) infringements on U.S. land-based air power's survivability and timely overseas availability, and the evolving nature of modern land warfare—all cast a significant shadow of uncertainty over the future of the U.S. Air Force as we now know it.

Indeed, some commentators have called for the Air Force's outright abolition and the transfer of its present missions and resources to other services, old and new. However, the Air Force has come to be a politically powerful institution since 1947, and any attempt to disband it almost certainly would provoke a firestorm in Congress as well as threaten a resumption of inter-service tensions of a magnitude not witnessed since the late 1940s. Nor is it clear that the Army, which would stand to inherit most of the Air Force's missions and resources, would make better use of them. The Army has publicly foresworn any interest in acquiring even the close air support and tactical airlift missions. Moreover, if the quantity and quality of Air Force-provided close air support and airlift has occasioned recurrent grumbling within the Army, the Army's proclivity for decentralized control of aviation assets in a given theater of operations could vitiate air power's most important feature—the ability to mass airpower quickly in a given location. And the Army's understandable focus on the immediate ground battle could encourage insufficient attention to the gaining and maintaining of air superiority—without which both close air support and tactical airlift would be compromised.

Finally, there is very little in pre-1947 experience to suggest that a resubordination of land-based tactical air power to Army authority would make that air power more responsive to demands of ground force commanders. Long before 1947, the U.S. Army air forces had achieved a *de facto* autonomy that enabled the aviation community to pursue investment in strategic bombardment at the expense of missions more pertinent to assisting the progress of surface forces. What would prevent the reemergence of a fixed-wing air power mafia within the Army having an agenda at odds with the predominant concerns of infantry, armor, and artillery commanders?

Nonetheless, even the suggestion that the Air Force could or should be abolished may have a positive effect. The Air Force has never taken its status as a separate service for granted, and raising the issue of its autonomy once again could provoke greater Air Force attention to correcting deficiencies perceived by its critics as warranting a revisitation to the decision of 1947. ☎

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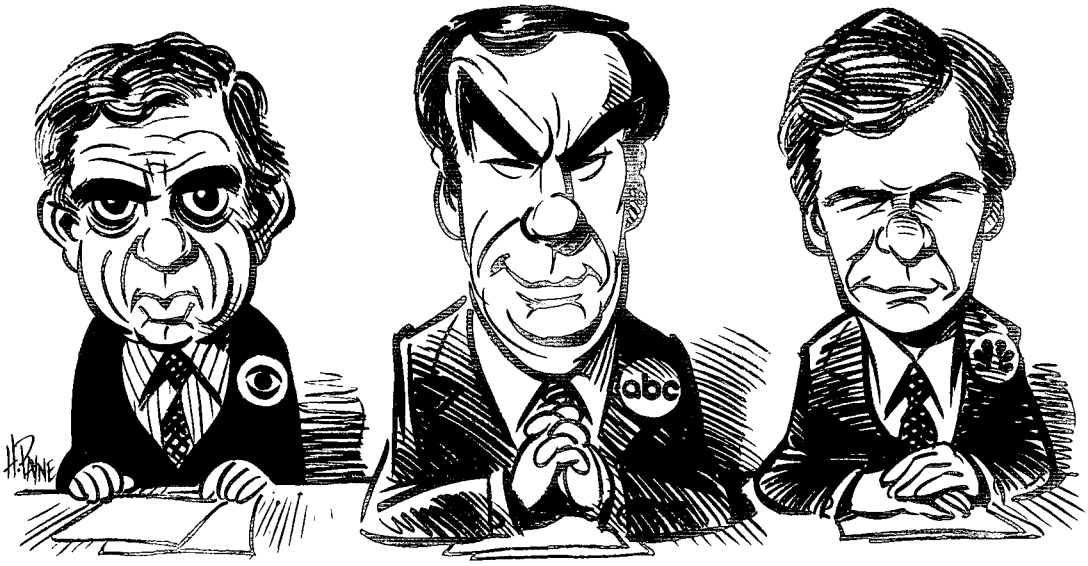

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Stork Reality

Why America's Infants Are Dying

Harmeet K. D. Singh

> The most important part of solving any problem is first defining it. Take the example of polio. We used to treat it by giving patients crutches, braces, and eventually, iron lungs. But once we isolated the virus, we were able to develop a vaccine. The problem with the way we approach infant mortality today is that we're trying to solve it with braces and crutches, using the same old approach we once used with polio. We haven't faced up to the real problem, which is fundamentally a social one.
> —Dr. George Graham, Johns Hopkins University

A nation's rate of infant mortality is a barometer of its success in combating poverty, ignorance, and disease. It is therefore a tragedy and a source of embarrassment that the United States ranks below 18 other countries in infant mortality, lagging behind Singapore, Hong Kong, and Japan, as well as most of Western Europe. A black child born in the United States is less likely to survive his first year than a child born in Costa Rica or Bulgaria. A black infant born in the District of Columbia is more likely to die before the age of one than a baby born in North Korea. While other countries often use different methods and standards to count infant deaths, the U.S. rate is still unacceptably high.

By historic standards, of course, the current infant mortality rate is a remarkable improvement. In 1918, when the U.S. infant mortality rate was sixth in the world, there were 77 deaths per 1,000 live births; 25 years later, the figure had dropped by half. By 1960, the rate was 26 per 1,000, and it declined steadily, leveling off during the '80s to its current rate of about 10 per 1,000.

Better sanitation, chlorinated water, victorious battles against infectious diseases such as tuberculosis, amoebic dysentery, cholera, and typhoid fever, and the advent of vitamin-enriched baby formula and foods all did their share in drastically cutting the rate over the past half-century. During the past quarter-century and especially during the early '70s, the development of respirators and the introduction of neonatal intensive care units and other life-saving technology for critically ill newborns reduced the rate even further. Now, however, it seems that both high technology and inroads against disease have reached their thresholds, and health care officials have begun to look elsewhere for answers.

There are four main barriers to reducing further the infant mortality rate. One is that federal programs for prenatal care—primarily Medicaid, the Special Supplemental Feeding Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC), and the Maternal and Child Health block grant—are unnecessarily fragmented and clogged with paperwork. Second, particularly in rural areas in the South but also in other parts of the country, there are not enough public health clinics or private practitioners willing to serve low-income expectant mothers. Third, about a sixth of all expectant mothers lack private health insurance and are also ineligible for Medicaid, leading many of them to forgo routine prenatal care checkups, to say nothing of more specialized treatment.

But the fourth, and perhaps most important, barrier to prenatal care has to do with the behavior and motivation of mothers themselves. Our health care system can help only those who seek assistance. A free society cannot force a woman to obtain prenatal care, nor can it constantly look over her shoulder to ensure that she doesn't smoke, take drugs, or otherwise damage herself and her child.

Neither can the government, by itself, prevent out-of-wedlock births, stop young girls from having babies, or construct the supportive family setting necessary not only to the infant's survival of birth but also his survival of childhood and adolescence. It will take leadership in our own communities, plus a recognition of successes abroad, to foster appreciation, especially among women in ghettos and poverty-stricken rural America, for the importance of preventive medicine to the lives of newborns.

Prenatal Premium

Over 40,000 babies born in the United States this year will die before they celebrate their first birthdays. According to Assistant Secretary of Health and Human Services James O. Mason, "Another 400,000 infants born this year will live to their first birthday but may become

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statistics of another kind. These unfortunate children will be born with or develop chronic conditions that are disabling enough to deprive them of true independence." The preventability of many such statistics heightens their poignancy.

In the U.S., early and adequate prenatal care is the single factor most likely to prevent infant deaths. Women who do not obtain proper prenatal care are two to three times more likely than those who do to deliver low-birthweight babies. In a 1985 report, the National Governors' Association's Southern Regional Task Force on Infant Mortality found that low-birthweight babies (those under five and a half pounds) are 40 times more likely to die during the neonatal (first month after birth) period than normal babies. In fact, although low-birthweight babies comprise only 7 percent of all live births, they account for 60 percent of all infant deaths. Laboratory testing and medical evaluations designed for early identification of high-risk mothers, plus heeding the medical, dietary, and hygienic advice provided during prenatal care visits could have prevented many, if not most, of those deaths.

Not only is prenatal care crucial to a successful pregnancy, it is cost-effective as well. The cost of a prenatal and delivery care package ranges from $500 to $1,000. By contrast, according to the Office of Technology Assessment, the U.S. health care system spends between $14,000 and $30,000 per low-birthweight child—primarily for intensive care during the infant's first year. The lifelong cost of health care for illnesses and disabilities associated with low birthweight has been estimated at over $250,000 per child. A 1988 study by the Congress-appointed National Commission to Prevent Infant Mortality estimated that hospitalization and medical costs for low-birthweight babies alone total more than $2 billion a year. A widely cited 1985 study by the Institute of Medicine, a branch of the National Academy of Sciences, calculated that each dollar spent on prenatal care for low-income, under-educated women would result in first-year savings of $3.38 due to a lower rate of low birthweight.

Medicaid's Red Tape

The federal government already spends $5.8 billion on prenatal care-related programs, matched by state contributions of $1.7 billion to these programs. The major federal programs include Medicaid ($2.9 billion), WIC ($2.1 billion), the Maternal and Child Health block grant, which supplements public health care clinics ($500 million), and a host of smaller programs such as Title X family planning, immunizations, community health centers, and migrant health centers. Despite these huge outlays, in most states fewer than half of all Medicaid recipients received adequate prenatal care, according to a 1987 General Accounting Office report. In some Alabama counties, as few as 18 percent of these women obtained the proper care. Some mothers failed to take advantage of services available to them because they lacked transportation, others because they did not know they were pregnant. But for many, the chief obstacle to prenatal care was the red tape and fragmentation associated with Medicaid.

Currently, about 10 percent of women of childbearing age qualify for Medicaid, a joint federal/state funding program that reimburses private and public health care providers for services to its participants. Until 1986, eligibility for Medicaid was tied to state payment levels under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children threshold, which averaged only 49 percent of the federal poverty level in 1988.

To rectify overly restrictive income thresholds, the budget act of 1986 allowed states to extend their Medicaid coverage for pregnant women up to 100 percent of the poverty level ($9,690 in 1988); 33 states have done so, and all will be required to extend coverage to 100 percent of poverty by July. In a compromise with the White House, which supported an increase to 130 percent, Congress recently raised the Medicaid coverage ceiling to 133 percent of the poverty level for pregnant women, and soon all states will be required to provide this level of coverage.

> A free society cannot force a woman to obtain prenatal care, nor can it constantly look over her shoulder to ensure that she doesn't smoke, take drugs, or otherwise damage herself and her child.

These increases may sound sensible, but the trouble is that applying for Medicaid often requires the patience of Job and the stamina of a marathon runner. Applications can run as long as 40 pages, and submitting all the required documents requires an average of two and sometimes three trips to the "processing center," a monumental task in itself for women who often don't own cars or live in areas without public transportation.

A Medicaid applicant usually waits from 30 to 60 days to find out if she is eligible. If she is denied, chances are it is because she failed to fill out the forms properly: the rejection rate for "failure to comply with procedural requirements" exceeds 70 percent in some states. Rejections for "excess income"—the most logical reason a person would be denied—account for only 20 percent. These tortuous eligibility procedures constitute *de facto* rationing of Medicaid, a gamble unfairly stacked against women least equipped to play this game.

Several states are trying to cut through the red tape, and in some cases the federal government has helped by relaxing certain eligibility requirements for Medicaid. One useful reform is continuous eligibility, which allows

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the state to keep a woman on the Medicaid rolls for the duration of her pregnancy and 60 days after delivery, instead of having to again complete the tiresome paperwork three and six months after becoming eligible. Thirty-eight states have opted for this reform.

Another important reform is presumptive eligibility, which allows a health care official to conditionally certify a woman eligible for Medicaid upon a verbal declaration of income, pending the completion and processing of a formal application. This option is especially useful to county health clinics providing same-day walk-in service because it ensures early care. To date, 20 states have taken advantage of this option.

D.C.'s infant mortality rate is three times the national rate despite free prenatal care, plentiful doctors, and an aggressive outreach program.

In lieu of presumptive eligibility, or sometimes coinciding with it, some states have initiated guidelines for expediting the processing of Medicaid claims. In California, where the routine Medicaid processing period is 45 days, pregnancy is treated as a medical emergency, allowing processing to be completed in less than a week. Michigan has recently instituted a requirement that Medicaid applications from pregnant women be processed within 24 hours. Other states, including Florida, West Virginia, and Minnesota, have condensed their application forms, in some instances reducing them from 40 to three pages.

No Room at the Clinic

Once the woman becomes eligible for Medicaid, she can then make an appointment—but she might have a hard time finding a doctor. The crisis in obstetrician/gynecologist availability is being felt by all women in this country, but poor and rural populations have been the hardest hit. The main culprit in obstetrical care scarcity is skyrocketing malpractice insurance rates, which can add hundreds of dollars to prenatal care and delivery for each baby.

Because of extremely low reimbursement rates (averaging about 44 percent of what the doctor would make from a privately insured patient, but in some areas less than 20 percent of the going rate) and mountains of paperwork, about 40 percent of obstetricians will not treat Medicaid patients.

Thus, the woman is likely to turn to her local county health clinic. Since 1984, a large amount of the prenatal care burden has shifted from private providers to public clinics, increasing the clinics' load by 50 percent. The good news for the pregnant woman is that she is more likely to get comprehensive services at the health care clinic, including advice on proper nutrition, counseling, even referrals to nutritional programs or social services for those who are eligible. However, even in states where prenatal care is given high priority, such as North Carolina, the waiting list for treatment in many county clinics averages two months.

The number of clinics in rural areas, especially in the South, is an integral part of the availability crisis. Women may sometimes find themselves 50, even 100 miles away from the nearest county health clinic. A recent attempt to provide comprehensive prenatal care services for the small town of Slater, South Carolina, demonstrates the problem. While the publicly funded Slater-Marietta Health Care Services Clinic processes WIC, AFDC, and Medicaid claims and has part-time nurses who provide immunizations and other routine health services, the Medicaid-eligible pregnant woman still has to travel to the town of Greenville, nearly 20 miles away, to see a doctor there in the county clinic. Attempts to convince the state health department to provide a doctor at the Slater clinic on a part-time basis have proven unfruitful for lack of funding; Medicaid processing may be withdrawn from the site as well. However, the clinic's executive director, Karen Cottingham, has recently tried to have the town of 15,000 declared a Health Manpower Shortage area, which would entitle it to federal funds for medical personnel, which might include a nurse-practitioner plus a part-time doctor.

Federal Patchwork

A total of 93 federal programs administered by 20 federal agencies address issues related to infant mortality. To state health care professionals, the burgeoning welter of agencies and programs related to infant mortality and prenatal care are more of a hindrance to their efforts than a help.

For example, nutritional deficiencies are often cited as a factor in low birthweight. However, either because of a lack of initiative or simply because of bureaucratic hurdles that prohibit commonsense solutions, public health care providers are often unable to refer their clients to nutritional resources such as WIC, the federally funded Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children. Many women who are eligible for Medicaid are also eligible for WIC, because the federal income thresholds are theoretically the same. In practice, however, the WIC thresholds are higher because Medicaid counts the pregnant woman as a family of two, while to WIC she is only a family of one.

The same hurdles that may keep a woman from even becoming eligible for Medicaid also apply to the WIC food program. "Inconsistencies in federal eligibility requirements really hinder state efforts to coordinate services. WIC is administered by the USDA [U.S. Department of Agriculture], the Maternal and Child Health grant by PHS [Public Health Service, a division of HHS], and Medicaid by HCFA [Health Care Financing Administration, also under HHS]. Each sets its own standards, usually different from the others," notes Marcia Roth, assistant director of maternal and child health for North Carolina.

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Navigation Aids

Some states have begun to employ case managers to help women navigate the complex, fragmented system. In North Carolina, each woman entering the public prenatal care system is assigned a case manager, who acts as an advocate for the "client" by informing her of services that are available, helping her complete forms, and, if necessary, making sure that she gets transportation to her appointments and follows up on the recommendations of nurses and doctors at the clinics.

Another area of innovation is aggressive outreach, which includes everything from high-tech marketing in the form of advertising and public service announcements, to case-finding workers going door to door in rural and urban areas to find pregnant women. Yet health care workers are presented with a dilemma, as North Carolina's Marcia Roth observes: "Local workers do only as much outreach as they can handle. If you already have a large waiting list, you may be rather reluctant go out and 'beat the bushes' for new women."

One outreach service receiving a great deal of support and attention is the idea of "resource mothers," local neighborhood mothers who have successfully raised children, who are paid to visit pregnant women in their neighborhoods, give them advice about nutrition, child-care, and their own health, make sure they get to their appointments, and provide transportation, help in shopping for food, and baby-sitting. This effort, currently being tested in several counties around the country, is vigorously supported by the National Commission to Prevent Infant Mortality, whose executive director, Rae K. Grad, explains, "A resource mother provides the conduit for getting a reluctant woman into the system. She's a neighbor, part of the fabric of the community. It's a low-tech, low-cost, and old-fashioned approach."

The One-Stop Solution

While these initiatives are innovative, they remain experimental, and their cost-effectiveness has yet to be proven. Perhaps the most promising legislative initiative

In some counties, as few as 18 percent of all Medicaid recipients receive prenatal care they are eligible for.

related to infant mortality is a bill introduced in Congress by Representative Thomas J. Bliley Jr. (R–Va.) called the Consolidated Maternal and Child Health Services Act, which would combine the $5.8 billion now spread among 10 different federal programs into one block grant that would be passed to the states.

In return for the freedom to set eligibility requirements, each state would be allowed to use the funds only to compensate for services delivered at one-stop, comprehensive clinics providing family planning, prenatal care, perinatal care, postpartum care, immunizations, nutrition services, laboratory services, pharmaceutical services, treatment for pregnancy-complicating disorders, and even pediatric care for young children, if the state opted to include them. States could designate private physicians, state and local health departments, HMOs, nonprofit private clinics, and hospitals, any of which provide all services, as recipients of the block grant funding. Application procedures for the various programs would be standardized and simplified, leading to an estimated $360 million savings in bureaucracy in the first year alone.

National Commission to Prevent Infant Mortality

The cost of caring for a premature infant averages over $20,000 for the first year alone. The U.S. spends more than $2 billion a year treating these babies.

Representative Bliley, ranking Republican member of the House Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, anticipates that the comprehensive approach will make a difference where it's needed most: "We haven't really addressed the fact that the women already on Medicaid are not being served properly. For example, teen-agers now go to Planned Parenthood and other free-standing family planning clinics to get their pregnancy test. If they find out they are pregnant, they have to go somewhere else to get care. But if you can give them the pregnancy test and a first appointment for prenatal care or counseling the same day at the same place, they are more likely to follow through with it. The basic premise is to make the care as convenient to get as possible."

Ian T. Hill, a senior policy analyst at the National

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The Belles of Mary's Center

Mary's Center, a non-profit prenatal and early pediatric treatment clinic for poor immigrants in the District of Columbia, shows how improved access to prenatal care coupled with the proper cultural and familial attitudes can produce healthy infants.

Run by Maria Gomez, formerly a public health administrator for the District, the center serves non-English-speaking immigrants who cannot be easily served in neighborhood clinics. Mary's Center depends on a combination of private grants, funds from the D.C. Commission of Public Health, and nominal fees collected from patients. The center also receives free immunizations from the city, as well as the free services of a pediatrician who visits the clinic one day a week. Providing pregnancy testing, prenatal care, postpartum care, well-baby classes, nutritional advice and referrals, family planning, and pediatric services for young children, it is a near-complete approximation of "one-stop shopping."

None of the patients at Mary's Center, which sees approximately 25 women a day, speaks English as a first language. Many are Spanish speakers from Mexico, El Salvador, and other Latin American nations. Many are French speakers from Africa. Maria Gomez is frank about the fact that many, maybe most, of her patients are also illegal aliens, lacking documentation and thus unable to qualify for Medicaid or other social services.

Dignity and Respect

The clinic charges its clients according to a sliding scale, ranging from $450 to $1,050 for a total package of prenatal and delivery services. Gomez explains, "A lot of our clients are undocumented and can't file for Medicaid. But even for those who can qualify for Medicaid, we encourage them to file but also try to get them to pay something themselves. I feel very strongly that if we can prevent these patients from entering the cycle that leads from poverty to Medicaid to welfare checks, we have done them a great service."

Charging the patients has a positive practical impact on patient care, according to one nurse-midwife: "We find that patients are more compliant [because they have a stake in their treatment]. Since they can come as often as they want, they take full advantage of the treatment they're entitled to. We've found that they are also more likely to keep their appointments."

And does charging the patients scare them away, considering that they can get free treatment at D.C.'s public health clinics? In fact, the high demand for care at Mary's Center explodes the myth that poverty is largely to blame for women not getting prenatal care. After all, one could hardly be more "socially disadvantaged" than an illegal alien, a recent refugee from wrenching poverty and war. "I think this proves that the answer is not free prenatal care," says Gomez.

"The reason patients come here is that we treat them with respect and dignity. We don't call them all in at one time and make them wait for hours only to spend a few minutes with them [the common practice in public clinics]. When our patients are here, there are things for them to do, films to see, classes to attend; and the midwives take time to get to know them and give them continuity of care. They get to know us and feel comfortable coming here."

Adds Gomez, "When you help a patient understand that there's a cost to getting prenatal care, you help her learn to manage her funds. Some of these women tend to have one baby after another, without really thinking about it. But it really brings a family closer together when they have to come up with a way to pay for treatment."

Family Involvement

Indeed, the family element is given particular importance at Mary's Center, even when the mother is unmarried, as about half of the patients are. "We encourage the woman to come in with her husband at least once. If she is unmarried, we try to make sure that her boyfriend comes in with her. If the mother is a teen, we try to encourage her to bring her mother along once she has already begun treatment. If the woman is abandoned or abused, she will often bring a friend with her."

Mary's Center's record so far is successful: of the 108 babies born in the past year to mothers who received their prenatal care at the center, not one died. Only one of the babies was low-birthweight, and his mother had not sought prenatal care until late in the second trimester of her pregnancy. It greatly helps that virtually none of the mothers used crack while pregnant, and very few of them smoked or drank.

The center keeps costs down by making extensive use of midwives, a practice encouraged by many health care experts but not widely adopted by public clinics. Midwives can perform most prenatal care more cost-effectively than doctors, and can develop a close, trusting relationship with the patient that often eludes the physician, especially in public clinics, where a patient may not see the same doctor twice during her pregnancy. In the event of a high-risk pregnancy, Mary's Center refers its patients to an affiliated physician but continues to provide the non-medical aspects of prenatal care. "The money [to pay for prenatal care] is already out there," says Gomez. "What is often lacking is the commitment of people who deliver the services. Often in government, the administration treats the staff like idiots, and that opinion is perceived and passed on to the patient." As one counselor explains, "Even poor people have a right to be treated with dignity and respect. Sometimes in government-run agencies the workers are so overburdened with people, paperwork, and other concerns that they lose sight of the patient."

Gomez says, "It's almost taboo to say this, but I sometimes feel that the most effective way to deal with the problem of prenatal care is to take most of the money out of the purely public system and re-route it to other sources, be they private physicians or clinics like this. I think a little competition for the government is a healthy thing."

—HKDS

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Mary's Center

Maria Gomez (left), director of Mary's Center, argues that free prenatal care is not the best solution to the infant mortality crisis, and the center's success with charging its patients reinforces her view.

Governors' Association, makes a similar call for clinics where an interdisciplinary team provides various types of support under one roof. "Private physicians don't have the training, incentive, or time to act as care coordinators, following up on appointments, giving references to WIC and other public services, and making sure that the patient follows advice. [With one-stop shopping] the private doctor can contract with the public clinic—they act as a team, handling the patient together."

And what about home visiting, outreach vans, and creative use of the media? "There are plenty of women out there who sought help in the past but were beaten down by all the bureaucracy and confusion. Streamlining and consolidating our efforts will do 10 times more to bring women in than all the 'Beautiful Babies' campaigns ever will," Hill says.

The Uninsured Millions

While Medicaid reform would greatly improve the accessibility of prenatal care for poor women, it doesn't address the larger question of the uninsured. In 1985, 17 percent (9.5 million) of all women of childbearing age lacked insurance, according to the Alan Guttmacher Institute. Three-quarters of these were either women who worked or were dependent on working spouses, but did not have the benefits of employer-provided insurance. These women, who usually pay thousands of dollars in taxes to the federal government each year, often forgo prenatal care and deliver their babies in hospital emergency rooms, then default on their bills. Uninsured women are even more likely than the poor dependent on Medicaid to receive inadequate prenatal care.

The long-term solution to this problem is a fundamental restructuring of health insurance, making it more affordable to those just above the poverty line, and providing tax credits both for insurance premiums and for out-of-pocket health care expenses. Unfortunately, most of the debate about uninsured pregnant women has centered on the prospect of adding them to the Medicaid rolls, which merely introduces them to a quagmire of red tape and long lines without significantly improving the likelihood that they will obtain proper prenatal care.

While lack of insurance is a serious problem for hundreds of thousands of pregnant women each year, it need not be insurmountable. Mary's Center (see sidebar) in Washington, D.C., is a case in point. The clinic, which treats mostly non-English-speaking immigrants (both legal and illegal), charges its patients on a sliding scale according to their incomes. The legally eligible can also apply Medicaid funds toward their bills.

The clinic also receives private foundation funding, and gets some help from the D.C. Health Service in the form of free vaccines and the part-time help of a pediatrician. Making extensive use of midwives (includ-

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March of Dimes Birth Defects Foundation

One-stop shopping centers for prenatal care could provide care for eligible infants as well as their mothers.

ing a nun) and contracting with hospitals for delivery facilities, the center's expenses are low while its success rate is very high. Drawing on the Catholic Church, the public health system, private philanthropy, and fees from its patients, Mary's Center demonstrates that even illegal aliens, for whom lack of insurance may be the least of their problems, can get excellent prenatal care when local initiative overcomes institutional barriers.

Free Care, Few Takers

Unfortunately, reforms of health insurance, tax credits, simplification of Medicaid, and even block-granting presently allocated funds are not enough to reduce substantially the infant mortality rate. Doubling the amount of money the nation currently spends on prenatal care, and making it universally available free of charge, will still not convince many pregnant women that taking advantage of such care is worth their time.

The situation in the District of Columbia is a perfect example. Mayor Marion Barry has bragged that Washington's infant mortality campaign is "the most comprehensive anywhere in the country," and he is probably correct. In D.C., prenatal care is free to any woman whose family income is less than $20,000. Eleven of the city's 16 health clinics provide prenatal care and are required to give a woman an appointment within two weeks. (Women in California wait an average of two and a half months for their first appointment.) Convenient evening hours make it even easier for the woman to reach a clinic. At the clinic, she can see an obstetrician, a nurse, a WIC worker, a social worker, even a dentist, and also be referred for drug treatment.

D.C. has a highly visible media campaign called "Better Babies," with ads on buses, television, radio, newspapers, and posters around the city. The MOM van (Maternity Outreach Mobile project) makes the rounds of the city's poorest neighborhoods every day, finding pregnant women, reminding them of their appointments, and getting them there if they have no transportation. Nor are private practitioners in short supply: unlike many other areas of the country, D.C. has plenty of obstetrical care providers, many of whom cater to the Medicaid clientele and are conveniently located in the residential corners of the city. Despite all this, the District of Columbia has the nation's worst infant mortality rate, 27 per 1,000 in early 1989, or nearly three times the national rate.

Why don't women in D.C. get prenatal care? Clearly, neither lack of availability nor insufficient outreach is the answer. "Most of the women I come into contact with know they can get free care, but a lot of them don't really take prenatal care all that seriously. Some of them say they didn't even know they were pregnant until pretty late in the pregnancy," reports one public health official.

Falling through the Crack

Another explanation for the city's tragic infant mortality rate lies in the staggeringly high number of babies born to substance-abusing women. Ethel Hawkins, director of social services at D.C. General Hospital, estimates that "well over 60 percent of the babies born here are born to women who used drugs or alcohol while they were pregnant." Another health care worker placed the toll at closer to 70 percent. Patricia Tompkins, director of Maternal and Child Health Services of D.C., says that the first time social and health care workers come into contact with many pregnant, drug-abusing women in the city is when they show up at the emergency room in labor.

Even when these women are identified and counseled early in the pregnancy, convincing them to stop destroying their children often proves impossible. The Infant Mortality Research Program of the USDA, which identifies pregnant women in the District by going door to

Use of drugs, not poor nutrition, is the leading cause of low birthweight.

door in poor neighborhoods and distributing information in grocery stores and laundromats, recently encountered this problem, according to Director Lilly Munroe-Lord: "It's very difficult to get through to the women who are using crack while pregnant. They simply don't hear you. The ones who are casual users can be convinced to stop during the remainder of the pregnancy, but they usually go right back to it after the baby is born. We may not be able to catch this generation [and

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set it on the right path], but maybe we'll be in time for the next one."

While the long-term effects of crack cocaine on the unborn child are yet to be comprehensively evaluated, some facts are clear. As Dr. George Graham, professor of human nutrition at Johns Hopkins University, points out, "I don't know how spending more on prenatal care is going to make any difference to the woman who uses crack. A recent study found that nearly 30 percent of the babies born in New York hospitals were addicted to crack. Use of drugs, not poor nutrition, is the leading cause of low birthweight. You hear a lot about how nutritional deficiencies, lack of funds for WIC, *etc.*, are responsible for low birthweight, but that's simply false. Low birthweight in the U.S. is not caused by poor feeding programs—it's usually caused by the behavior of the mother." According to an estimate by Dr. Ira J. Chasnoff, president of the National Association for Perinatal Addiction and Research, the number of women whose drug use will affect their unborn children may approach 375,000 this year.

Out of Wedlock, Out of Health

D.C. also has the highest percentage of low-birthweight babies born to teens, and the nation's highest percentage of births to unmarried mothers. The city's rate of 58 percent of all births to unmarried women is nearly three times the national average.

Both teen pregnancy and illegitimacy are strong co-factors for low birthweight and infant mortality—in fact, they may be more reliable indices than poverty itself. As American Enterprise Institute (AEI) researcher Nicholas Eberstadt recently wrote, "If viewed as a medical condition, illegitimacy would be one of the leading killers of children in America." He cites a 1982 study that found infant mortality rates to be higher for children of unmarried white college graduates than for children of married white high-school dropouts. Eberstadt also notes that Chinese Americans are far more likely to be poor than whites, yet their infant mortality rate is only half as high—white children are three times more likely to be born out of wedlock.

Clearly, the cultural aspects of sound maternal behavior may even compensate for comparatively poorer quality of care. For example, in Japan, a woman is four times more likely to die during childbirth than a woman giving birth in the U.S. because complex medical treatment is more likely to be available in the United States. Yet Japan has the world's lowest rate of infant mortality—about half that of the United States. In Japan, less than 1 percent of all mothers are either unmarried or teenagers, due to the social stigmas of these conditions. These factors probably contribute significantly to Japan's success in reducing infant deaths. Japanese Americans in California maintain these social customs (and low infant mortality rates), according to Dr. Myron Wegman, writing in the *Journal of Pediatrics.*

The cultural factors involved in prenatal care cut across class and economic lines. In a 1988 study published in the *New England Journal of Medicine,* Dr. Merton Bernfield of Stanford University's School of Medicine reported the results of a survey of 31,000 infants born at California's Kaiser-Permanente hospitals, where prenatal care and delivery were part of a liberal pre-paid package of benefits for the mothers. Most of the mothers, both black and white, had completed secondary education, were in the median age category for pregnancy, and had the demographic characteristics of low-risk mothers.

In Japan, a woman is four times more likely to die during childbirth than a woman giving birth in the United States.

Not only did the black mothers in the study use prenatal care later, less frequently, or not at all, they had twice the rate of low-birthweight babies as did the white mothers. The study concluded that it would be cost-effective for Kaiser to pay mothers a $100 bonus for receiving early and adequate prenatal care, as this measure would save the company $4 million annually in California alone because of the reduced costs in caring for low-birthweight babies. (Most European countries, especially those with lower infant mortality rates than the United States, routinely pay bonuses if the mother obtains the recommended amount of prenatal care, and some pay bonuses at the birth of the baby as well.)

Such figures are leading more and more health care experts to conclude that America's high rate of infant mortality, at least in certain areas, may be more of a social than a medical problem. Dr. Reed Tuckson, who recently resigned as health commissioner of D.C., voiced that view at a recent panel discussion of experts on prenatal care: "Nothing we do in this room will work unless we get people to believe and understand their own individual responsibility."

Lately, the Reverend Jesse Jackson has adopted the "heal thyself" mode of thinking as well. In a recent conversation with *Washington Post* columnist William Raspberry, he addressed the crisis in the black community with a sports analogy: "When a basketball team keeps missing free throws, they don't blame conditions or rules of the game or unfair officiating. They work on analysis: timing, technique, trajectory. Well, when our team keeps making babies out of wedlock, keeps having crack-addicted babies...it's time for analysis." That kind of analysis is the *sine qua non* of reducing the number of America's babies who die needlessly every year, and it is long overdue.

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Flee Market

More Refugees at Lower Cost

Stephen Moore

America's refugee admission policy has lost much of its compassion and reason. This year tens of thousands of freedom seekers—including Poles, Hungarians, and other newly freed Eastern Europeans, Vietnamese boat people, Soviet Jews, and Central Americans—who in previous eras would have been warmly accepted in the United States, will be turned away. Today the United States admits roughly half the number of international refugees that it admitted in 1981, and fewer than a fifth as many as at the turn of the century. This restrictive policy is imposed even when all evidence demonstrates that accepting refugees is not merely an act of humanitarianism, but also a direct long-term benefit to the U.S. economy and culture.

America could reopen its gates to many more international victims of political, religious, and economic persecution—at no cost to U.S. taxpayers—by making three long-overdue revisions in refugee admission policy. First, for victims of Communism, such as the Vietnamese boat people, the United States should stop pretending that there is a moral distinction between those fleeing for political reasons and those fleeing for economic reasons. America now accepts the former and turns away the latter, even though in both cases, these casualties of Communism are fleeing for their lives. The boat people awaiting to be deported in Hong Kong should be sent to the United States, not to Vietnamese reeducation camps.

Second, the United States should adopt a policy allowing entry of emigrants from newly freed Communist countries. The U.S. State Department recently declared that as a result of the "democratic evolution" in Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, citizens of these nations will no longer be granted refugee status. They are the latest victims of the Catch-22 of a U.S. refugee policy that states, in effect: if you are free to leave, you are no longer free to come. America should respond to the emergence of freedom and liberty around the world by opening the immigration gates wider, not slamming them shut. Congress should provide each newly democratized nation, depending on its size, 20,000 to 50,000 "freedom visas" annually for the next five years to restore normal immigration flows.

Most important, the United States should terminate federal grant programs that pay for refugees' resettlement costs. Refugees come to the U.S. seeking opportunity, not a handout. Careful research demonstrates that these well-intentioned public aid programs hurt refugees in the long run by encouraging welfare dependency and delaying entry into the labor force. Moreover, the $500 million price tag for these assistance programs ensures that U.S. refugee policy is driven by federal budget worries, not humanitarian concerns.

Most resettlement costs could be eliminated by replacing federal grants for refugees with temporary low-interest guaranteed loans—to be paid back when these new Americans are integrated culturally and economically into U.S. society. Loan repayments would then be used to finance the resettlement expenses of future refugees, thus minimizing the taxpayer cost of absorbing these émigrés while making room for many more.

Obsolete Distinction

Last year some 50,000 Vietnamese refugees crammed onto small, overcrowded fishing boats and journeyed to Hong Kong, where they thought they would find freedom. The inhospitable reception the boat people have received in Hong Kong is by now well known. Immediately seized and placed in refugee camps, they are treated as illegal aliens and now await forced repatriation—despite their protests that "we would rather die than return." Several already have committed suicide rather than be sent back to spend months or years in Vietnam's nightmarish reeducation camps.

The U.S. response to the tragedy has been anything but commendable. While angling moral aspersions at Britain and Hong Kong for the harsh insensitivity of involuntary repatriation, the U.S. government essentially has joined a multinational chorus of agreement that there is simply no room in the free world for the Vietnamese.

The sad plight of the Vietnamese boat people has dramatized an increasingly obvious defect of U.S. (and

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United Press International

Refugees have enriched American life, from the Cubans in Florida, to the Haitians in New York, to the Laotians in Iowa.

worldwide) refugee standards: the distinction between an economic migrant and a political refugee is no longer very useful—if it ever has been—in evaluating whom America should welcome and whom it should reject. Under U.S. and international law, political refugees are people with "a well-founded fear of persecution in their country of residence because of their race, religion, nationality, or political opinion." Refugees are eligible for immediate entry into the United States, while the normal immigration process can take up to 20 years (except for those who have immediate family members in the United States or possess highly specialized labor market skills).

America must begin to acknowledge that the distinction between a person fleeing Communism for political motives and one fleeing for economic motives is merely semantic, not moral. Should a teacher fleeing Vietnam because of his or her political beliefs be generously accepted by the United States, while a peasant farmer who leaves because his nation's centralized economic system does not allow him to adequately feed his family is spurned as an "economic migrant"? In effect, our refugee policy says to the exile: we will not let you die at the hands of the executioner, but are ambivalent to your death from economic deprivation. If today's admission criteria were applied in earlier times, one can imagine the U.S. government turning back the ships from Ireland carrying hundreds of thousands of Irish fleeing the great potato famine 100 years ago.

Four decades of experience have vividly demonstrated that economic misery is an unavoidable byproduct of Communism. That the boat people, for example, would willingly confront the extreme risks they do to escape Vietnam's Communist system is *prima facie* evidence of the dehumanizing conditions they left behind. In such cases America cannot in good conscience sit on the sidelines and allow freedom seekers to be returned—regardless of where the rest of the world's conscience leads it. America has always held itself up to higher standards. The victims of the Communist world—or what is left of it—should be welcomed here when they escape.

America's Iron Curtain

What should U.S. immigration and refugee policy be with respect to nations where Communism already has collapsed, as in Eastern Europe? For some four decades, immigration and refugee flows from nations such as Poland, Hungary, and Romania have slowed to a trickle because of tight emigration restrictions and strict penalties against illegal departure. As a consequence, over the past decade only a tiny proportion of immigration to the United States—3 percent of the total—has come from the Eastern bloc. The number of immigrants from all of Eastern Europe in the 1980s was roughly the same number that arrived from the single island of Jamaica.

The sudden triumph of liberty in Eastern Europe would seem to naturally loosen government barriers to the free movement of people across borders. Yet tens of thousands of frustrated East Europeans who have waited 40 years for the opportunity to emigrate to the United States now find that the Iron Curtain of Communism has been replaced by an impenetrable iron curtain around the U.S. visa office. In November 1989, less than a month after the shattering of the Berlin Wall, the U.S. State Department permanently revoked refugee status for some 20,000 East Europeans waiting to resettle in the United States. Since they are no longer fleeing persecution, they can now only come to the United States as immigrants. Yet under America's current immigration system, most East Europeans do not qualify because, after

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four decades of severed immigration channels with America, very few East Europeans have immediate family members living in the United States.

The United States should immediately establish a policy of reserving 20,000 to 50,000 additional "freedom visas" each year for people from newly democratized nations where freedom of emigration had been restricted. Congressman William Lipinski, a Democrat from Chicago, who by unofficial count represents more Poles than any elected official outside Warsaw, has introduced legislation that would launch such a program to reopen immigration from Eastern Europe for the first time since the end of World War II. This special immigration policy could then be extended to Cubans, Albanians, Russians, Chinese, and other nationalities when Communism is repudiated in their countries.

The predictable complaint of the "freedom visas" program is that the United States is already overwhelmed with immigrants. Yet the percentage of foreign-born people living in the United States, the best measure of our ability to absorb immigrants, is only half of what it has been in most earlier periods in this century. Each year the United States admits fewer than three refugees and immigrants for every 1,000 U.S. residents—a very small immigration rate historically and in relation to many other industrialized nations that do not pride themselves on being nations of immigrants. The major effect of the "freedom visas" would be to expand the ethnic diversity of America's newest immigrants, thereby enhancing one of America's greatest strengths.

Enriching America

About 150,000 Soviet Jews have petitioned to come to the United States as refugees this year, but the State Department has declared that only about 50,000 of these appeals will be granted, despite the upsurge in anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. Those not granted refuge in the United States, of course, can go to Israel. So from a humanitarian point of view, the plight of the Soviet Jews is perhaps not as compelling as that of other refugee groups. Nevertheless, this decision has placed America in an embarrassing predicament: after four decades of chastising the Soviets for imprisoning their own people, the U.S. government now claims it cannot afford to allow those who leave to come here.

This is a curious argument, because most of the 2.5 million refugees who have resettled in the United States since the late 1940s have been net economic contributors. Miami is clearly richer with the presence of the Cubans who fled Castro than without them; the Poles and Hungarians who escaped the Iron Curtain have brought new economic vitality to those American cities with proud ethnic heritages, most notably Chicago. The Vietnamese have contributed mightily to the economic prosperity of Southern California in the 1980s. In general, Southeast Asian refugees—and now their children—have proved to be model citizens: highly resourceful and motivated, family-oriented, pro-American, and strongly anti-Communist. A recent RAND Corporation study of immigrants in California describes Asians as "one of the most skilled immigrant groups ever to come to the United States."

Although not as upwardly mobile as economic immigrants—who tend to bring to the United States considerable wealth, skill levels, and immediate job prospects—most recent refugee groups are climbing the traditional immigrant ladder to success in America, too. It would be easy to be misled into concluding otherwise. Inspecting a snapshot at a single point in time would reveal a seemingly bleak picture of how the whole refugee population is faring: more than one-quarter of all refugees are dependent on some form of public assistance, their labor force participation rate is about 30 percent below that of the U.S.-born population, and of those refugees that are counted in the labor force, their unemployment rate (8 percent) is significantly higher than that of natives (5 percent). Yet this analysis shields from view the steady economic progress refugees make over time.

A 1984 study entitled "Making It On Their Own," by one of the nation's largest private refugee assistance groups, Church World Services, documents the rapid economic and social transition of refugees in their new homeland. This survey of more than 2,100 political exiles and their sponsors found that over their first four years in the United States, refugees' "use of cash assistance" dropped from 24 percent in their first year to 7 percent in their fourth year; their "knowledge of English" rose from 56 percent to 70 percent; and their rate of "self-sufficiency" climbed from 44 percent to 70 percent. An exhaustive study by Rita and Julian Simon of Soviet Jews, the very group whose entry the State Department is now restricting, found an especially steep economic climb over a short period for this mostly highly skilled and educated population. Those who arrived in the 1970s had high rates of welfare dependency, but after only two years in the United States they received less public assistance than the average American-born family.

The most recent study of the integration of refugees into the U.S. labor market confirms these earlier findings. A 1988 survey by the federal government's Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) discovered that unemployment among Southeast Asian refugees who arrived in 1985 plummeted from 50 percent in their first year in the United States, to 20 percent in 1986, to 9 percent in 1987, to 5 percent in 1988—right at the national average. Even more impressive, after 12 years in the United States, the Indochinese refugees who arrived in 1975 had incomes and tax payments that exceeded those of the median U.S.-born family.

Leo Cherne of the International Rescue Committee explains that refugees, by necessity, bring with them unique survival skills that account for this encouraging economic progress. "Starting from scratch, refugees have to be more inventive and more determined," states Cherne. "They have to be more frugal and work harder. This is the secret of their success—success that over the years has been the trademark of all identifiable refugee groups, starting with the displaced persons of the post-World War II years."

Still, beneath this good news is a stubbornly persistent high rate of dependency for some recent refugee groups. About one of every four refugees continues to receive public aid, even after three years in the United States.

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Some analysts have hypothesized that this excessive dependency rate is due to a decline in employment skills, knowledge of English, and educational level of the more recent arrivals from Southeast Asia and the Soviet Union. There is some evidence of this. But the far more convincing explanation is that most refugees today, unlike earlier uprooted groups, are almost immediately acquainted upon their arrival to these shores with the welfare state and the work disincentives it creates.

Welfare Trap for Refugees

Under the provisions of the 1980 Refugee Assistance Act, each newly arriving refugee receives about $5,000 in federal assistance during his resettlement period in the United States. This money covers the refugee's transportation costs to the United States, 12 to 24 months of refugee cash assistance, medical coverage, vocational and language training, and most important, federal reimbursement of state welfare payments. The philosophy underlying this broad safety net is that most refugees arrive in the United States in a "traumatized condition," and thus need immediate access to public aid and job training to prepare themselves for the future. The explicit objective of the resettlement assistance is to "help refugees achieve economic self-sufficiency within the shortest time possible following their arrival in the United States." In practice, these programs have had precisely the opposite effect.

The most dramatic evidence that welfare has stifled the economic vigor of refugees is seen in the extremely high dependency rate of newcomers who settle in California—the state that offers a public aid benefit package that is 65 percent more generous than the average for the rest of the nation. Some 80 percent of California refugees are on public assistance during their first two years in the United States, while in other states an average of 33 percent of refugees collect benefits. Refugees locating in California have four times as high a dependency rate and only half the labor force participation rate as do those in Texas, where benefits are less than half as generous.

The accessibility of public assistance collides with the innate work ethic of Asian refugees, producing unhappy results in many cases. "The California welfare system appears to sap refugees' economic energies," conclude Reginald Baker and David North in their study of the economic progress of Southeast Asians. "We can't compete with welfare," complains Peter Daniels of the International Institute, a private Los Angeles-based resettlement group. "The mathematics are real easy. The jobs we have for refugees pay $4 and $5 an hour. A family of seven can make $1,032 a month on welfare."

The consensus among most experts in the refugee field is that although welfare has not ended the traditional upward mobility path of refugees, it certainly has delayed their start. The ORR finds that refugees increasingly view their special cash assistance as "an entitlement," and use the entire eligibility period to attend government-funded education and training programs, which have proven to be of limited value, rather than gaining early employment. An upsurge in refugee job search activities has been detected just prior to the cutoff date for assistance. For this reason, Susan Forbes of the Refugee Policy Group concludes her study entitled "Adaptation and Integration of Recent Refugees in the United States": "Refugees in this country are moving inexorably towards economic self-sufficiency. However...this refugee adaptation, to some extent, occurs despite—not because of—programmatic and policy interventions on their behalf."

But as the Soviet Jews, the boat people, and other ethnic groups awaiting the opportunity to come to America have discovered, the most harmful effect of these federal government policy interventions on their behalf is not that they don't work, but that because they are so expensive (more than $500 million per year) they impose *de facto* constraints on the number of political exiles the United States will accept. In effect, the boat people and the Soviet Jews have become firsthand victims of the federal budget paralysis in Washington. If the State Department were to allow 100,000 additional Soviets to immigrate to the United States, the taxpayer cost would be nearly an additional $500 million based on current program assistance levels. In an era of tight fiscal restraint, this is regarded by U.S. policymakers as unaffordable.

The Iron Curtain of Communism has been replaced by an impenetrable iron curtain around the U.S. visa office.

Providing cash assistance to refugees has had another negative effect: it has eroded public support for the U.S. refugee program. A typical newspaper headline reads: "Many Refugees Getting Welfare." This irreparably damages the public image of America's new immigrants. Indeed, anti-immigration groups constantly cite figures on the receipt of welfare benefits by "deadbeat foreigners" to rally popular support for a more restrictive U.S. immigration and refugee policy. By offering generous, federally funded welfare support to the few that are permitted to come, America has locked out hundreds of thousands of equally deserving victims of persecution, most of whom could make it on their own with minimal U.S. assistance.

Ellis Island S&L

Clearly, America must begin to restructure these refugee resettlement programs to reduce the costs and work disincentives and to restore public support for higher refugee admissions. The Congress has already begun to take positive steps in this direction. For instance, eligibility for federal welfare assistance has been gradually cut back from three years to one this year. But

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the most important reform is for the U.S. government to stop treating able-bodied refugees like welfare recipients.

Under a reformed public assistance program, all public aid programs for able-bodied new refugees, except Medicaid, would be eliminated and replaced by a low-interest federal guaranteed loan of up to $5,000. The loans would be financed by private refugee resettlement agencies or banks, in much the same way the Guaranteed Student Loan program operates. The refugees could use these funds for any variety of purposes: job placement, language training, housing, or even as start-up capital for a small business. After five years in the United States, the refugees would begin to repay these loans, unless they still had very low incomes. The resettlement groups could then use repayment funds to make new loans. In this way, past refugees would help finance the costs of succeeding waves of newcomers. Congressional liberals such as Senator Howard Metzenbaum of Ohio and Representative Charles Schumer of New York have endorsed this concept as a way to bring more refugees to the United States at lower cost.

A loan program would provide temporary help to new refugees without any of the work disincentives that impair the current assistance programs. Early employment would be rewarded, not penalized. This could substantially accelerate the economic and social adaptation of refugees. Consider, for instance, the results of a pilot program launched in 1985 called the "Oregon Early Employment Project," which emphasized getting refugees off welfare as quickly as possible by front-loading job training and placement. The program has slashed dependency rates for the 1,500 test cases from 80 percent in the first year to 44 percent. According to Ron Spendal, the Oregon Project coordinator, those who entered the program four years ago "are progressing at a steady pace and have a high level of satisfaction with their jobs." The program's success challenges the conventional wisdom that refugees need a period of transition before entering the labor force. It supports the philosophy that relief programs should be reoriented toward encouraging refugees to become self-reliant immediately.

Most resettlement costs could be eliminated by replacing federal grants for refugees with temporary low-interest guaranteed loans.

Shifting the Burden

A loan program would shift much of the primary caretaker responsibility from the shoulders of the government back to where it has traditionally rested: with the network of private voluntary groups, churches, ethnic communities, and families. To be sure, hundreds of groups already generously provide hundreds of millions of dollars in financial aid and in-kind assistance to America's refugees. But more needs to be done by private citizens and ethnic groups. The American Jewish community should bear the relocation and resettlement costs of newly arrived Soviet Jews. Similarly, there is a growing awareness among Southeast Asians that they must provide more direct support for their countrymen if more are to gain entry. Loc Nguyen, the refugee resettlement coordinator for Catholic Charities in Los Angeles, has been pressing this message to the Vietnamese community in L.A.'s "Little Saigon." "You keep pushing the government to allow more refugees, and say we need more help," he tells residents, "I say: 'They are our people. We have to take care of them.'" Studies show that community-based private support is the most effective in integrating refugees into the economic mainstream and in facilitating their cultural and emotional adaptation to the United States.

The common objection to a loan program—that it would saddle new refugees with considerable debt—is unpersuasive. Given the steady rise in income levels that refugees experience over time, paying off a low-interest $5,000 loan would not seem, for the vast majority, especially burdensome. It involves far less debt than most college graduates must pay back in student loans when they join the work force. For tens of thousands of refugees seeking to build new lives in the United States, repaying the modest cost of their resettlement expenses would likely be regarded as a small price to pay for freedom.

New Immigration Category

These reforms would eliminate many of the distinctions between refugees and immigrants. This raises the issue of whether there needs to be *any* distinction between the two categories of migrants. It would be possible, for in-stance, simply to create an immigrant category for "political refugees." Their status could be identical to those immigrants with immediate family members in the United States, who are permitted to come without numerical limitation. Under this system, the United States could set aside a preassigned number of visas each year for "economic refugees," such as the boat people, who have been denied political refugee status.

This idea is not nearly as radical as it may sound. After all, the term "political refugee" is of relatively recent coinage: prior to World War II, all foreigners arriving in the U.S. were labeled as immigrants at Ellis Island regardless of their motivation for coming: political, religious, or economic. As with most of today's "refugees," many immigrants came to the United States penniless and without knowledge of English, yet prospered without government aid or training programs. Ethnic communities and voluntary support groups capably provided help to those who needed it. Although America may not be ready to merge entirely the refugee program with the immigration system, the nation's 200 years of experience give hope that such a program could work. ☎

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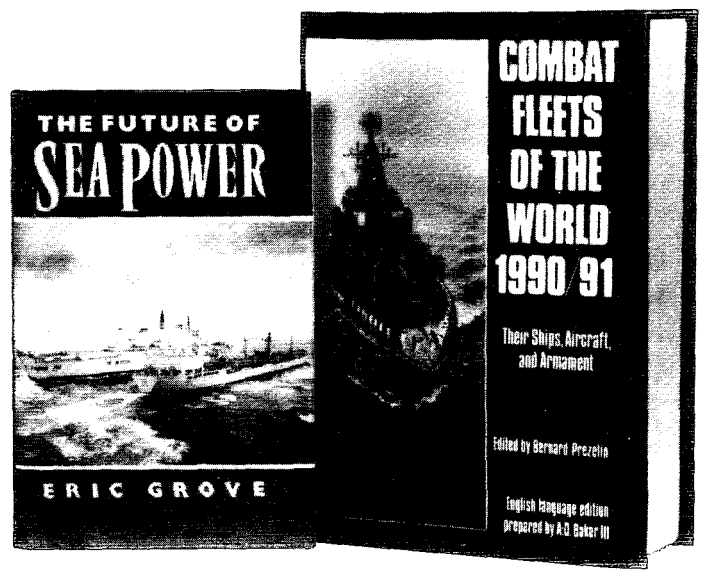

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Home Remedy

A Mom's Prescription for Ailing Schools

VIRGINIA SEUFFERT

What do Wolfgang Mozart, Thomas Edison, Leo Tolstoy, Abraham Lincoln, and the Seuffert kids of Oak Park, Illinois, all have in common? They all received a significant part of their formal education at home. Home-schoolers maintain a low profile, but experts estimate that as many as one million American families are teaching their children at home.

This trend is understandable in view of the sorry results of our nation's public school system. Well-heeled families can turn to private and parochial schools, but those of more modest means or from rural areas with no access to alternative schooling usually have to work with the entrenched National Education Association bureaucracy.

Our family's solution has been to provide our children with their elementary education at home. I am their teacher. And although I am no genius and completed only one year of college, the children's academic progress has been, by modern American standards, excellent. My five-year-old, Mark, is learning to add and subtract and can read simple stories. In five months, six-year-old Katie had completed a challenging first-grade program and is beginning second-grade work. Third-grader John is studying the history of major civilizations (prehistoric, Greek, Roman, and medieval), world geography, and Latin. My fourth-grade student, Carol, who is learning French and studying the five classes of vertebrates, will soon be starting fifth-grade math. Most days, lessons are accomplished in three hours. Work is assigned four days per week.

There have been tremendous personal rewards for me as well. School-age children are not nearly so pesky as toddlers and I find myself genuinely enjoying the extra time with my kids. I am getting an opportunity to study subjects I missed while in school—John and I are learning Latin together. Our family life-style is more relaxed now that we don't have to adhere to a school calendar. When we had out-of-town guests, lessons were dismissed for three days while we showed our friends the sights and toured Chicago's museums.

My greatest reward, however, is knowing that our children's characters are being shaped in our home and influenced by our values and religious beliefs. A home-schooled child is generally free of the dependency on peer approval so common in our nation's classrooms. My children spend more of their time with responsible, hardworking adults who love them and have their best interests at heart. Conventionally schooled students spend the majority of their days with other children who may ridicule or bully them, and they quickly learn to conform to the rules of the tribe. Character formation is not so easy to measure as academic progress, but is even more crucial.

From Home School to Harvard

Home-schooling has a long and honorable history. Famed 19th-century British philosopher and economist John Stuart Mill was educated at home by his father, James Mill. He studied Greek when he was three years old, reading Herodotus and Plato in the original before he started Latin studies at eight. That same year he began to supervise the instruction of his younger siblings. He had a passion for history, studied logic "seriously" at the age of 12, and went through a complete course in political economy at 13. He later wrote that his home education was an "experiment" that proved the ease with which young children may be taught advanced work: "If I had been by nature extremely quick of apprehension, or had possessed a very accurate or retentive memory, or were of a remarkably active and energetic character, the trial would not be conclusive; but in all these natural gifts I am rather below than above par; what I could do, could assuredly be done by any boy or girl of average capacity and healthy physical constitution...."

In our own time, Mary Pride was "afterschooled" by her father, a philosophy professor, while she attended conventional schools. As he had taught her to read when she was five, she found herself double-promoted when her first-grade teacher caught her reading *Jane Eyre*. Two years later, her father taught her the full eight years of elementary school math during one summer vacation. She skipped one year of high school and another in college. Presently Mrs. Pride teaches her own children

VIRGINIA SEUFFERT *lives with her husband and seven children in Oak Park, Illinois.*

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and has become a noted author on what she refers to as "schoolproof" education.

Living on a remote homestead in California, David and Micki Colfax have been teaching their four sons at home since 1973. Their oldest son, Grant, graduated from Harvard with high honors and is a recipient of a Fulbright Scholarship. Two younger brothers are presently undergraduates at that same university. The Colfaxes claim that their sole educational theory is that "children will learn, will aspire to excellence, if we recognize and respect their different interests and abilities and give them a chance to develop them...this is denied every day, in word and in action, in our schools."

Tedium at Public School

Naturally, not every home school will obtain such spectacular results, and not every parent finds conventional schooling as repressive as the Colfaxes do. My husband and I were very satisfied with the modest parochial school our children attended in upstate New York. At that small school, a dedicated staff, constantly trying to improve the curriculum, delivered a first-rate education in mixed-grade classrooms on a shoestring budget. The children were held to high standards of courtesy and personal morality as well as academic excellence. I found it ironic when my daughter's Brownie leader reported that Carol was the only six-year-old girl in the troop who could read the Brownie handbook. All the other girls attended the well-funded public elementary school. The experience my children had was not unique. Many graduates of this tiny New York elementary school excelled in high school and went on to study at top-flight colleges.

When our family moved to suburban Chicago in the summer of 1988, we settled one block from the local parish school, fully expecting that it would offer the same solid education. We soon discovered that mediocrity, so prevalent in the public schools of our nation, was seeping into the parochial system as well.

We found that the students' days were filled with mindless workbook assignments and other busywork. In contrast to the individual attention my children were accustomed to, this school offered a homogenized curriculum that made no allowances for pupils who were clearly in need of more intellectually challenging assignments. By the end of October, despite the children's high grade-point averages, we knew we needed an alternative.

The search for a new school illustrated to me what is wrong with modern American education. The local public schools have beautiful facilities, dedicated teachers, state-of-the-art equipment, and the nicest playgrounds I have ever seen, all of this funded by the highest property tax rate allowed under Illinois law. But 30 years after *Why Johnny Can't Read*, they still teach reading by the look-say method. Each class has only one reading group and spends the academic year studying unchallenging material of dubious literary value. The rest of the curriculum is equally uninspiring.

One typical second-grade social studies text talks about how people live in "communities" or "neighborhoods," and the people who live there are called "neighbors." It explains that some people live in single family "houses" and others live in "apartments." There's a chapter on neighborhood helpers: fire fighters put out fires, mail carriers deliver the mail, doctors and nurses help people who are sick, and so on. Based on this text, my kids had mastered second-grade social studies before they started kindergarten. I couldn't subject them to this tedious and pointless curriculum.

The children finished the year at a local Montessori school but we were still dissatisfied. Although we located a challenging junior-senior high school for our oldest son, we had four other school-age children and no acceptable alternative school within our budget. At this point, another mother who shared many of my concerns mentioned that she was considering teaching her children at home.

The idea of home-schooling the children initially seemed like an awfully radical solution. From the little I knew about this alternative, my vague impression was that home-schooling appealed to ultraconservatives who didn't want their children to learn about evolution or read *The Wizard of Oz*. Still, I was getting desperate and was anxious to avoid moving my children to yet another school that would not meet their needs. Home-schooling seemed worth looking into. I soon learned that, unlike conventional schools, which all seek to provide the same service with varying degrees of success, home-learning is based on diversity. The great variety of options available assure that motivated parents can find, or design, an educational program that will satisfy their children's needs.

Why am I, a college dropout, able to teach in three hours a day what the public schools are not able to do in six?

Curricula Available

In her book, *The New Big Book of Home Learning*, home-school mom Mary Pride classifies home-based curricula by their general philosophies. I discovered that religiously conservative parents who home-school often use a strong "back-to-basics" approach. The Christian Liberty Academy, with an active enrollment of 20,000 home-study students in grades K-12, typifies this style. It is three-R's oriented, patriotic, and emphasizes Bible studies.

Many parents have been asking the public schools to return to unadorned academic studies, pointing out that, until recently, American education routinely produced excellent results using simple repetition and drill methods. The typical home-school back-to-basics program is free of sex education and substance abuse programs, AIDS education, values clarification, self-es-

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Ed Seuffert

Home preschool: Claire spends the morning with "hands-on" material.

teem exercises, and such nonsense as asking the children to write their own version of the Declaration of Independence without ever reading Jefferson's original. Most programs teach reading phonetically, use fact-rich history, geography, and science texts, and insist on solid preparation in math and English grammar. (John Saxon's math texts, which stress drill in basic arithmetic, are gaining in home-school popularity.)

Another popular direction in home learning is the "unschooling" approach advocated by the late John Holt and, to a lesser degree, by Raymond Moore and Maria Montessori. Holt believed that children, left to their own devices and without adult interference, will want to learn and need only be allowed the freedom to pursue their interests. His followers shy away from all pre-packaged educational programs. They favor an approach where the parent provides educational resources, such as encyclopedias, dictionaries, and atlases, as well as such learning opportunities as museums or home gardens.

Moore and his associates are leaders in the home-schooling movement and base their recommendations on decades of solid research. They believe that all formal education should be delayed until the child is at least eight to 10 years old. Before children learn to read, write, and cipher, Moore suggests they develop strong personal traits of hard work, self-confidence, and community responsibility. After that he recommends a "project" or "integrated" approach where children learn the three R's while being heavily involved in community service, regular household chores, and home-based businesses.

Although most Montessori education occurs in a school setting, parents have found that this method can be transplanted to the home. This system allows the child to set the pace and study whatever is appealing, in a controlled environment. The role of the parent is to prepare the specialized classroom and observe individual progress. At the appropriate time, the parent introduces new concepts using materials unique to Montessori education. These might include beads (on chains, or formed into bars or cubes), various wooden shapes and puzzles, and cards that match pictures to concepts, all displayed in a manner designed to attract the young scholar. The necessary didactic materials are not inexpensive; I have a friend who has spent at least $10,000 outfitting her Montessori home. Her heavy investment does make sense in the long term, however, when compared with the cost of private education for her six children. This mother is very pleased with a Montessori home education as all of her children are years ahead of their contemporaries academically.

The Oak Meadow School of Ojai, California, which bases its curriculum on Rudolph Steiner's Waldorf School, offers a home-based program that would appeal to New Age, save-the-whale type parents. Steiner (1861-1925) wrote, "One should not ask, 'what does a person need to know and be able to do for the existing social order?' but rather, 'What gifts does a person possess and how may these be developed in him?'" The stress is on imagination, self-awareness, and closeness to Mother Earth. Younger students play more than work. Even after fifth grade, much of the learning is "hands on" and experiential in nature.

Hooked on Classics

We found what we were looking for in yet another category, loosely defined as classical learning. This is a fact-rich, "Great Books" type of curriculum with an emphasis on memorization and the student's ability to think logically and express his ideas effectively. While I found no current home-school program offering a truly classical approach (Latin, Greek, and classical literature in the early grades), I examined two pre-packaged programs that incorporate the classics.

The Calvert School has a prestigious reputation and appeals to those parents who would like their offspring to have a prep school education for a fraction of the cost. It is often used by missionary and diplomatic families because it provides all necessary materials. Along with textbooks and lesson plans, the school sends pencils, rulers, protractors and everything else needed to complete the assignments. Academically, Calvert is among the best, and several graduates (the school was founded in 1897) have gone on to distinguished careers. Calvert students study history, geography, classical literature, and the fine arts starting in the early grades. According to Mary Pride, "A child can graduate from Calvert's eighth-grade course, take a few achievement tests, and go straight to the college of his choice."

The Seton Home Study School places primary emphasis on turning out students who are well grounded in Catholic doctrine and practice, as they receive superior academic preparation. I was very attracted by its flexibility. The school stresses that its lesson plans are only to be used as guidelines, and if a child has mastered a particular concept, he or she moves on and does not complete endless, useless workbook pages. Seton is also

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willing to customize a program to suit individual needs and abilities, a feature not offered by every school.

We settled on Seton for its flexibility and its religious training. When the books and lesson plans arrived over the summer I knew we had made the right choice. They have a pioneer, can-do attitude at Seton that makes you want to stand up and cheer. Obviously sharing my distaste for the "Juan and Amy meet Abe Lincoln" school of social studies, Seton's staff has written its own history texts for first and second grade. Six- and seven-year-olds read about famous people and events from America's past, beginning with the voyages of discovery. My first-grader loves it.

Typically, the science curriculum for the early elementary grades emphasizes the human body, good health habits, and other topics young children can relate to. In conventional schooling this translates to a workbook page on the five senses where the student has to color things you see blue, things you taste green, and so on. My Katie's first-grade science book, again written by the Seton staff, explains the workings of the actual organs and gives the child a diagram to color. My lesson plans explain that the student is not expected to retain all the details (the kids aren't tested at this level in science anyway) but they will come away with an understanding that the five senses and other physical functions originate in parts of the body, and that they can be studied and understood. Not bad for first grade!

The older grades use a variety of textbooks, and the excellence of the readers, for example, is obvious to any parent familiar with more modern versions. Most of the selections have been written by famous children's authors, not a committee of reading experts, so they are good literature. The stories were clearly collected with moral formation in mind. They stress traditional values of honesty, obedience, and kindness, and encourage the children to develop personal qualities of hard work and individual initiative.

Immediate Feedback

Last summer, the children and I set up our classroom on a winterized porch. We purchased used desks, globes, and puzzle maps, some Montessori materials, flash cards, and, quite frankly, anything else I could think of. I was convinced that we had found our educational alternative and determined to make home-schooling a success.

I attempted to predict potential problems and plan for them in advance. One concern was my baby, who was nine months old last September. We resolved to wake her up with the rest of the family at 6:00 A.M., so she would be ready for her morning nap at 8:30. This gave me almost three hours, while she slept, to review the children's assignments with them. Unlike conventional classrooms, which are burdened with administrative tasks and classroom management, in home schools three hours is usually sufficient.

We begin each morning with the Pledge of Allegiance and a brief prayer. The three oldest students (Carol in fourth grade, John in third grade, and Katie in first grade) begin the daily assignments I have written for them in a weekly lesson planner. Independent work is encouraged. If needed, I explain the directions or the

Ed Seuffert

Mark, John, teacher, and Claire. "My greatest reward is knowing that our children's characters are being shaped by our values and religious beliefs."

concept of the lesson. As the children complete their assignments, I correct them and give immediate feedback—one of the greatest advantages of home-schooling and virtually impossible in the traditional schoolroom of 20 or more students.

My actual teaching is divided into two categories. First I work with a specific child on a problem area. John, for example, is a whiz at most subjects, but is bored and impatient with rote math. It is far more effective for me to give him oral problems or flash card review than to assign a textbook page that he will moon over for half the morning. Carol is a meticulous student but lacks spelling skills. I give her word dictation, based on phonetic rules, and I am seeing fine improvement.

Naturally, there is also some subject matter that is best taught directly to the children, at least in the initial stages, and other learning that should be regularly monitored. This is my second category of teaching. Katie and I spend 15 minutes each day with her reading book. By November of first grade, she was in the second-grade reader. John and Carol, both in fourth-grade reading, typically have longer assignments that they read silently. Once or twice a week they read poetry or a short story to me and we discuss the content and the style of the piece.

After the older children are working steadily, I start with Mark, my kindergarten student. He has phonics drill, completes some workbook pages in phonics, visual discrimination, penmanship, or math, and his formal studies are finished for the day, all in about one hour. Mark and his three-year-old sister, Claire, will often spend the remainder of the morning playing with some of our "hands on" material, math manipulatives, sandpaper letters and numbers, sea shells, or Montessori materials. Sometimes they look at picture books—I have some wonderful nature books—or they color and draw. By December, Mark had learned all his basic consonant and short vowel sounds and had begun to read. He can recognize as well as add and subtract numbers up to 10.

If it sounds simple, that's because it is. While I do

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Ed Seuffert

Fourth-grader Carol. The typical home-school back-to-basics program is free of sex education, values clarification, and self-esteem exercises.

work hard, teaching is interesting and rewarding and not particularly complicated. In addition to spending my mornings in the classroom, I devote a few hours each weekend to my lesson plans and the minimal record keeping required by Seton.

Cost for Four Kids, $2,300

The cost of home-schooling is modest when compared to other public-school alternatives. My tuition and book bill from Seton (just under $1,300 this year for four children) is about half of what I was paying the local parish school and one-fifth of the Montessori school tuition. I have cleaning help, practically a must for a family of nine people with the equivalent of a working mother. This costs $70 per week, but I am saving on the extra expenses associated with more traditional education such as uniforms, club fees, bag lunches, and transportation. I have probably spent another $1,000 on enrichment materials, but much of this is discretionary—a more cost-conscious parent could just as easily make flash cards as buy them, for example. Educational catalogs are filled with textbooks, interesting learning games, science projects and equipment, and early education manipulatives. I admit, I have no sales resistance.

Even without the catalogs, the possibilities for enrichment are endless. Most weeks, my children have only four days of formal lessons and spend Fridays on field trips. We have spent numerous days at the Field Museum of Natural History, the Museum of Science and Industry, the Shedd Aquarium, the Brookfield Zoo, and the Adler Planetarium. Additionally, we are planning trips to our state capitol in Springfield and to Washington, D.C.

I try to take advantage of the flexibility allowed by the Seton staff to supplement their lessons. For example, although my first-grader, Katie, reads above grade level, she can still benefit by daily phonics review to develop her reading and spelling skills. I found a textbook that reviews phonics as the child learns to type. She's enjoying an otherwise tedious review as she learns a valuable new skill. Carol and John are also learning to type and are more cooperative in completing their written assignments on our word processor than on looseleaf paper.

In our modern world, study of a foreign language is crucial but all too often delayed or ignored in our public schools. Carol and Katie are learning French using a combination of textbooks, workbooks, and cassette tapes. Third-grader John was attracted to a workbook that teaches Latin grammar and shows the relationship between that language and English.

The abbreviated school day allows the children more time for extracurricular activities. "Gym" is figure skating lessons during the winter and the children get plenty of free ice time. When spring comes, we start Little League baseball and, in the fall, John plays soccer and the girls are cheerleaders. "Music," predictably, involves instrumental instruction. All the children are involved in church activities.

Considering their busy life-styles, it amazes me how often I am questioned about my children's ability to interact socially with their peers. I have a growing suspicion that the importance professional educators are placing on socialization skills is directly linked to the public outcry about their failure to develop intellectual skills. To become socially competent adults, my children must associate with individuals of different ages and backgrounds. The arbitrary grouping of children according to age can lead to an unfortunate peer dependence that will do little to foster desirable social traits.

Not for Everyone

Of course, home education is not without drawbacks. One friend, who started when I did, already has her children back in the classroom. Home-schooling dominates your time and demands a certain energy level that not everyone has. It would be difficult for a working mother to teach her children, and many women are unable or unwilling to delay their return to the work force. Other mothers eagerly anticipate their youngest child's school entry so they can pursue organizational work, hobbies, or even finish their own education. The tuition and book expenses, although generally reasonable, are still out of the question for some low-income families.

One worry of potential home-schoolers, their legal status under compulsory education laws, seems to be less of a problem in recent years. The situation varies from state to state. I am fortunate that Illinois is very friendly to home-schoolers and there are virtually no regulations currently being enforced with any rigor. Seton's director, Mary Kay Clark, feels New York state is at the other

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extreme of home-school tolerance, requiring monthly progress reports from home-school families. Still, Clark is optimistic about the legal position of home education in general, and religious-affiliated home schools in particular. Many of the court cases challenging compulsory education requirements have involved religious denominations. So far, courts seem to agree that parental authority is paramount regarding rearing children according to the dictates of their faith.

Preliminary Report Card

The Seuffert Home School has completed only its first semester, so it is premature to make any long-term judgments about its effectiveness. Most of my children's accomplishments are self-evident in the home setting; *i.e.*, if a fourth-grader completes a Level 4 math assignment with ease and accuracy, you know the skills are being mastered. Seton provides me textbook answer keys and teacher's manuals to guide my expectations and grading. They also provide quarterly exams, which they correct. More important, their professional teachers grade a number of required written compositions, giving me a more objective and experienced opinion. Finally, once each year, Seton sends me the Stanford Achievement Test, a nationally recognized standardized test to help me gauge the children's progress. So far, their achievements have been well above average.

The most self-evident question is: Why is a college dropout able to accomplish, with relative ease on a heated porch, what a well-funded, beautifully equipped modern school, staffed by highly educated professionals, backed by over a century of educational research, seems incapable of doing? Are administrative and custodial functions of the public schools so time-consuming that I am able to accomplish in three hours what they are not able to do in six?

The answer might very well be a simple matter of goals. The typical public school tries to be all things to all parents (and children), whereas the home-school teacher can concentrate on exactly what she wants. Briefly, my children must be morally and intellectually prepared to meet with confidence whatever challenges they may face as adults. Learning to color within the lines or understanding the meaning of Mother's Day do nothing to forward my aim; solid academic preparation and strong character formation do. Our home life and their time spent in school are wasted when this goal is not pursued.

Modern educators seem to have forgotten what children are capable of—the real possibilities. *The Elson Reader*, printed in 1926 for sixth grade, insisted that a text for that level must score high when tested for quality, variety, organization, and quantity of literature, and that "the foundation of the book must be the acknowledged masterpieces of American and British authors." The student is shown the works of Audubon, Emerson, Wordsworth, James Russell Lowell, Kilmer, Longfellow, Washington Irving, Dickens, Tennyson, Whittier, and Hawthorne, among others, as well as Theodore Roosevelt, Abraham Lincoln, Benjamin Franklin, and Woodrow Wilson. Additionally, the students read excerpts from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Consider the effects of exposure to these thoughts before the turmoil of adolescence begins.

Today, in sharp contrast to this, much of the information our children are taught in the public schools is frivolous, unpatriotic, anti-religious, and anti-traditional, and too often schools are downright unsafe. Public schools are dismally failing to impart to our children the basic knowledge they will need to be the future leaders of our nation.

The Gallup Organization recently surveyed children from 10 nations on their knowledge of geography. As usual, American youth came in dead last. My home-schooled third-grader, John, without any warning or preparation, outscored the top-ranked Swedes. Last May, when the National Geographic Society held the first National Geography Bee, first prize went to a 15-year-old boy from a Seventh-Day Adventist School with a total enrollment of seven.

My vague impression was that home schooling appealed to ultraconservatives who didn't want their children to learn about evolution or read *The Wizard of Oz*.

It is the responsibility of parents, not the federal government nor the local school superintendent, to ensure that children receive the best possible education. Unfortunately, parents have delegated this responsibility and should recognize that their trust has been misplaced. Parents and children cannot afford to wait 10 years to see if the current educational reform movement returns excellence to our schools.

Many concerned parents are already giving several million American children a far superior education outside the nation's public schools, despite legal and financial obstacles. It is time to remove these barriers and formulate policy that encourages alternative learning and makes it financially possible for even the neediest Americans to give their children a quality education.

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The Grim Truth About Gramm-Rudman

The Deficit Law Is Working

Daniel J. Mitchell

Most Washington budget "experts" make fun of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Balanced Budget Act. The chairmen of the budget committees in the House and Senate, Representative Leon Panetta (D–Cal.) and Senator James Sasser (D–Tenn.), have introduced legislation to repeal the law. Senator Ernest Hollings (D–S.C.) has openly disassociated himself from the legislation he co-sponsored. Newspaper articles routinely assert that Gramm-Rudman has failed because the deficit at the end of each fiscal year has always exceeded the Gramm-Rudman target.

But Gramm-Rudman has been a spectacular success. Indeed, the Washington establishment wants to repeal Gramm-Rudman *because* it has worked. Federal spending (in inflation-adjusted dollars) grew by 3.6 percent annually in the 1970s, and by 4 percent a year between 1980 and 1985. Since Gramm-Rudman was enacted in 1985, the real growth of federal spending has fallen to 1.4 percent annually, well below the growth of the national economy.

Gramm-Rudman's automatic spending control mechanism, known as sequestration, has radically altered the dynamics of the budget process. If Congress fails to produce a budget that meets Gramm-Rudman deficit targets, sequestration automatically reduces spending to the legally required level. As a result, Congress's ability to increase spending has been sharply curtailed. Legislators must either raise taxes to pay for new programs, as happened in the case of catastrophic care, or find spending offsets, as with child-care and anti-drug funding. The eventual repeal of the catastrophic care program showed that beneficiaries of government spending are much less enthusiastic if they have to pay for the program, and the internecine warfare in the Democratic Party over child-care shows offsets are not that easy to agree upon either.

None of this would have happened without Gramm-Rudman. More generally, Gramm-Rudman has given President Bush the leverage he needs to fulfill his promise of deficit reduction without a tax increase. So long as the president is prepared to veto any tax increase, Congress has little choice but to enact an acceptable budget. Should they fail to do so, the president can simply allow sequestration to occur automatically.

Leviathan's Gramm Reaper

President Reagan, for all his anti-government rhetoric, was unable to keep spending growth under control before Gramm-Rudman was enacted in 1985. The five years since Gramm-Rudman became law are a different story. The growth of federal spending has been significantly slowed compared with the first half of the 1980s.

As shown in **Table 1**, federal spending increased by an average of more than 9.9 percent annually between 1980 and 1985. Since Gramm-Rudman was adopted, however, annual spending increases have averaged about 4.8 percent.

After adjusting for inflation, the impact of Gramm-Rudman is even more striking. Federal spending in real terms grew three times faster before Gramm-Rudman than it has since Gramm-Rudman. **Table 2** repeats the exercise in **Table 1** with the budget numbers in inflation-adjusted 1982 dollars.

What is more important, Gramm-Rudman has helped reduce the size of government relative to the size of the productive sector of the economy. In every year but one between 1980 and 1985, government spending as a percentage of GNP was higher than it was the year before, with political control over the economy increasing by an average of .36 percentage points annually. On the other hand, as **Table 3** points out, government spending as a percentage of GNP has declined by an average of .42 percentage points each year since Gramm-Rudman was adopted.

Deficit Slashed

Gramm-Rudman has also reduced the deficit. In four of the five years before Gramm-Rudman, the deficit

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increased. Since Gramm-Rudman was enacted, however, the deficit has fallen three of the past five years (**Table** 4). Using a more economically relevant measure, the deficit as a percentage of GNP increased in three of the five years before Gramm-Rudman. Since the law was enacted, however, the deficit as a percentage of GNP has fallen every year. Depending on how the economy performs this year, the deficit could fall below 2.4 percent of GNP for only the second time since 1974.

A better way to illustrate how Gramm-Rudman has reduced the deficit is to compare actual performance in 1989 and 1990 with deficit projections by the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) *before* Gramm-Rudman was enacted. In 1985, CBO estimated that the deficit in 1989 would be $272 billion and consume 5.2 percent of GNP. Things were supposed to get even worse in 1990, with the deficit climbing to $296 billion and 5.3 percent of GNP. In reality, Gramm-Rudman became law and the 1989 deficit was $152 billion, $120 billion below the Congressional Budget Office estimate. The 1990 deficit is not known yet, but if the current estimate of $123.8 billion is even close, the deficit easily will be less than half the amount CBO had projected. The deficit as a percentage of GNP will also be well below the CBO estimate.

Two Loopholes

Actual deficits at the end of each fiscal year have consistently exceeded the Gramm-Rudman target. The deficit in 1989 was $152 billion, $16 billion above the $136 billion target. The administration projects that the 1990 budget deficit will be $123 billion, $23 billion over target.

This overshooting of the target results from two loopholes in the law, but it does not mean that Gramm-Rudman has failed. Loophole number one is that Gramm-Rudman does not require that the actual deficit equal the deficit target. Instead, it mandates that the *projected* deficit as of October 15, two weeks into the new fiscal year, be no more than $10 billion over the target.

If it turns out that the economic assumptions underlying the deficit projection are too optimistic, the actual deficit will be higher than the target. Congress understands this relationship, which is why, despite constant complaints about excessively optimistic economic assumptions from the White House, legislators adopt the administration's forecast. More optimistic economic assumptions mean less spending restraint is needed to bring the projected deficit within $10 billion of the target (primarily because a stronger economy generates more tax revenue). If the economy's performance turns out to be less robust than projected, there is no way to force Congress to adjust spending totals after the October 15 sequester deadline.

Gramm-Rudman has given President Bush the leverage he needs to fulfill his promise of deficit reduction without a tax increase.

The second loophole is that once October 15 has come and gone Congress can increase spending for that fiscal year without triggering a sequester. The only significant barrier that stands in the way of adding to the budget after October 15 is the 60-vote point of order in the Senate. Unfortunately, the big-spenders in Congress are quite adept at using clever combinations of pork-barrel projects and funding of "emergency" needs such as programs for homelessness and drugs, and often get the 60 votes they need. What is the result? Every dollar of added spending after October 15 causes the actual deficit to be that much higher than the deficit target.

Still Some Gimmicks

Another weakness of Gramm-Rudman is that it has encouraged a certain amount of budgetary sleight of hand. Congress, often in cooperation with the administration, has shifted government paydays and Medicare and farm price support payment dates from one fiscal year to another. Last year, Congress took the postal service off budget so it could no longer be counted in the deficit calculation, allowing Congress to claim a "saving" of $1.7 billion, even though the Treasury Department must borrow just as much money. To add insult to injury, once the postal service was off budget and its spending no longer counted, Congress added a provision requiring the postal service to make a one-time $400 million payment to an on-budget part of the government, thereby creating the illusion of an additional $400 million of deficit reduction. The farm credit system was also taken off budget, a move that generated another

Table 1

Annual Spending Increases During the 1980s

Year	Spending ($ billions)	Annual Growth %	
1980	590.9	—	
1981	678.2	14.8	Five Year
1982	745.7	10.0	Average
1983	808.3	8.4	Growth =
1984	851.8	5.4	9.9 percent
1985	946.3	11.1	
1986	990.3	4.6	Five Year
1987	1003.8	1.4	Average
1988	1064.0	6.0	Growth =
1989	1142.6	7.4	4.8 percent
1990*	1197.2	4.8	

*Estimate

Source: Budget of the United States Government

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$400 million of phony savings.

Obviously, Gramm-Rudman is not perfect. But government spending and deficits are lower than they would have been in the absence of the law.

New Political Dynamics

Before Gramm-Rudman, the proponents of higher spending had the upper hand. Since there was no objective limit on the deficit, they could enact new spending programs and increase funding for existing programs with little difficulty. Republicans were often put in the position of then raising taxes because of concern over the deficit. This pattern—Republicans raising taxes so Democrats could raise spending—did little to break the Democratic Party's lock on political power.

Overshooting of the target results from two loopholes in the law, but does not mean that Gramm-Rudman has failed.

By breaking with traditional Republicans and advocating large tax cuts, Ronald Reagan was able to capture the presidency and give Republicans control of the Senate. Unfortunately, this did not lead to the reductions in government spending so many had hoped would occur. Indeed, Reagan and the Republicans passed three large tax increases in 1982, 1983, and 1984. As was the case in the past, however, these tax increases were not used for deficit reduction; they simply contributed to the expansion of existing government programs.

Gramm-Rudman changed all that in 1985. By putting a cap on each year's deficit, Gramm-Rudman also limited that year's spending because legislators can spend no more than the sum of projected revenues plus the deficit target (including the $10 billion margin of error). The only way Congress can increase spending beyond that level is either to increase revenues or the deficit target. The hidden spending cap, however, is only half of Gramm-Rudman's secret. The real key to making Gramm-Rudman work is *no tax increases.* If the prohibition on tax increases ends, the spending cap becomes meaningless. President Bush seems to understand this point, surprising many with the strength of his commitment to battle higher taxes. The administration's strong stand against taxes is probably one reason Democrats are so anxious to repeal Gramm-Rudman. Fortunately, President Bush would almost certainly veto any effort to undo Gramm-Rudman.

Understanding this one-to-one relationship between higher taxes and higher spending also exposes the big lie used by proponents of higher taxes. Almost every proposal to increase the tax burden on America is wrapped in pious claims that the additional tax revenue will be used to reduce the deficit. Yet, so long as Gramm-Rudman is the law of the land, every dollar of higher taxes will mean an additional dollar of higher spending. Simply stated, the deficit is already set by law; the only effect of higher taxes would be to allow Congress the freedom to meet that deficit target at a higher level of spending.

Adjustments for Social Security

The issue of deficit reduction has been confused by claims that the Social Security "surplus" is masking the

Table 2

Annual Spending Increases During the 1980s
(constant 1982 dollars)

Year	Spending ($ billions)	Annual Growth %	
1980	699.1	—	
1981	726.5	3.9	Five Year
1982	745.7	2.6	Average
1983	775.0	3.9	Growth =
1984	788.1	1.7	4.0 percent
1985	849.6	7.8	
1986	867.5	2.1	Five Year
1987	857.8	-1.1	Average
1988	879.6	2.5	Growth =
1989	907.1	3.1	1.4 percent
1990*	912.2	0.6	

*Estimate
Source: Budget of the United States Government

Table 3

Federal Government Spending
as a Percentage of GNP

Year	Spending (% of GNP)	Change	
1980	22.1	—	
1981	22.7	+0.6	Five year
1982	23.8	+1.1	Average
1983	24.3	+0.5	Growth =
1984	23.1	-1.2	+0.36 percentage
1985	23.9	+0.8	points
1986	23.7	-0.2	
1987	22.7	-1.0	Five year
1988	22.2	-0.5	Average
1989	22.2	—	Shrinkage =
1990*	21.8	-0.4	–0.42 percentage
			points

*Estimate
Source: Budget of the United States Government

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true size of the deficit. It is true that Social Security tax revenues are exceeding Social Security outlays. The deficit, however, is supposed to measure how much money government will borrow from private credit markets. As such, all government spending and taxes, including Social Security, should be included. Any other measurement would deliberately misrepresent the true extent of government borrowing. The Social Security system belongs in the unified budget.

Some say that Social Security is special because the 1977 and 1983 tax increases were specifically enacted to build a reserve that could be used to pay for the baby boom's retirement, so we would not have to rely on a "pay-as-you-go" system. Perhaps that is how the tax increases were justified, but it is not how the Social Security system actually works. In years that Social Security tax revenues exceed outlays, the Social Security system exchanges its excess cash with the Treasury for U.S. government bonds (IOUs), which are deposited in the Trust Fund. When Social Security outlays begin to exceed revenues early next century, the Trust Fund will redeem those bonds to get the cash needed to pay retirement benefits. The relevant question, of course, is where does the Treasury get the cash with which to redeem the bonds? The government will have either to raise taxes, reduce benefits, or issue new debt, just as would be the case with a pay-as-you-go system.

Recent proposals to reduce the burden of payroll taxes have led to some concern that a large tax cut could undermine Gramm-Rudman. If the price of a payroll tax cut were repeal of Gramm-Rudman, the long-term fiscal policy impact would probably be negative. Fortunately, this need not be the case. If Congress is unwilling to come up with spending reductions to offset the revenue loss, the yearly deficit targets could be adjusted to account for the lower levels of tax revenue, as Senator Kasten (R–Wisc.) has proposed in his bill to lower payroll taxes. If taxes are lowered and the deficit targets are changed, the economy would benefit from a permanently lower level of taxes and spending in exchange for a temporarily higher deficit.

Table 4

Deficits During the 1980s

Year	Deficit ($ billions)	Deficit (% of GNP)
1980	73.8	2.8
1981	78.9	2.6
1982	127.9	4.1
1983	207.8	6.3
1984	185.3	5.0
1985	212.3	5.4
1986	221.2	5.3
1987	149.7	3.4
1988	155.1	3.2
1989	152.0	2.9
1990*	123.8	2.3

*Estimate
Source: Budget of the United States Government, Historical Tables

The 1990 deficit will be less than half what the Congressional Budget Office projected in 1985.

Bush's Opportunity

In light of Gramm-Rudman's success, an interesting question is why politicians allowed it to become law. Public Choice theory tells us that politicians and bureaucrats will instinctively resist policies that limit the size and scope of their power. Yet Gramm-Rudman, which has succeeded in arresting the size of government where other efforts failed, only became law because it received support from a majority of both the House and the Senate and was signed into law by President Reagan. Many lawmakers probably supported Gramm-Rudman because they feared voters would hold them accountable for voting against a measure designed to reduce the deficit. Others probably figured the law wouldn't work and it would be immediately repealed. Still others may have felt genuinely concerned that the rising burden of deficit spending, left unchecked, would wreak havoc with our economy. If so, this is an example of sound policy triumphing over political self-interest and the lust for power.

Whatever the source and reason, the passage of Gramm-Rudman marked a turning point in the battle of the budget. With the right strategy—refusal to capitulate on taxes and willingness to use the sequester if necessary—President Bush can accomplish more to bring spending under control than his predecessor ever did (though not for lack of trying). The rewards of this policy—higher economic growth, additional job creation, and a more competitive America—would come about as government's control over the nation's resources diminished.

Indeed, the only shortcoming is that Gramm-Rudman will end in 1993. While there is always a possibility that politicians will "slip" the targets again and extend the balanced budget goal back a year or two, at some point Gramm-Rudman will accomplish its goal of balancing the budget. Then, conservatives need to be ready with tax-cut proposals, accompanied by new deficit-reduction requirements. Gramm-Rudman has succeeded in reducing the relative size of government, but only constant vigilance will keep Leviathan under control.

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The Blast of War

Henry V, *directed by Kenneth Branagh*

Reviewed by Ken Adelman

"Aw, Dad, it'll be boooring," groaned my 14-year-old daughter as I dragged her to Kenneth Branagh's movie version of *Henry V*. Having seen the film before and having disputed various friends (and my wife) by claiming that this was indeed a flag-waving patriotic pageant, I sought her confirmation.

She did not find it "boooring." Like millions of others, she found it downright exhilarating. Still, I find it a bit puzzling why this *Henry V* is such a box-office smash, especially among the young. Maybe it's because patriotism is back—it's morning in America—hence chauvinistic, even jingoistic films (*à la* Sylvester Stallone) draw.

Some shrewd friends and one sharp wife think *Henry*'s box office success rests (in part, at least) in the opposite direction, namely that it shows the stupidity, futility, and agony of war. The audience for *Henry*—surely the best movie of the year—is thereby said to resemble that of the worst movie of the year, *Born on the Fourth of July*.

Hence the big question: Is *Henry V* a "pro-war" or "anti-war" movie? In its overall emotional impact, it can't be both; although apparently Americans flock to either. In that watershed year of 1968, the two top movies were incongruously John Wayne's *Green Berets* and Dustin Hoffman's *The Graduate*.

Regardless of thrust, *Henry V* is such a smash partly because it is so smashingly done. As was Henry's, Kenneth Branagh's mettle was untested (on screen, at least) before this epic feat. And like Henry, he conquers against overwhelming odds, and conquers completely.

As actor in the title role, director, and manager of the new acting company Renaissance (which furnished most of the talent), Branagh managed to make the movie in less than seven weeks and under its modest $9 million budget. He heartily welcomed four other actors who had each prominently played Henry V, including Derek Jacobi (until now, my favorite actor), who shines here as the chorus.

The British deemed it a bit cheeky of Branagh to take on their patron saint of theater, of Shakespearean acting, and especially of *Henry V*—Sir Laurence Olivier. Yet, there is something majestic—could we say Shakespearean?—in that, in the year an aged Sir Laurence dies, young Branagh emerges. Like Olivier with his film *Henry V*, Branagh both directs this as his first movie and stars in it. The torch passes to a new and younger generation; Olivier was 36 when discharging this double deed so deftly; Branagh, 27.

Branagh's Muse of Fire

As the times are markedly different, so the films. Advances in cinematography allow Branagh to capitalize on this special medium in a way Olivier never could. And *Henry V* is ideal for film.

In our era of "made for television" movies, *Henry V* is a "made for movie" play. Shakespeare must have composed this work to be performed on film. Like *King Lear*, and as the chorus in *Henry V* candidly warns us, this play is too grand for any stage. It needs the great outdoors to encompass its expanse and grandeur.

Henry V also needs camera work to *step back* so we can behold the huge battle scene; to *zoom in* and capture the despair on Mistress Quickly's face when Falstaff dies; to *flash back* to Prince Hal's salad days when gallivanting with Bardolph, Pistol, Falstaff, and other rogues; and to *slow down* in making a graceful yet gory ballet of battle, wherein combat in slow motion becomes mesmerizing. Superb filming here peaks—far beyond Olivier's stage-like mid-distance shooting—as Falstaff's five pals sit on tavern steps, none looking at another, each gazing out to remember the raucous times together, while Mistress Quickly tells time and again how Falstaff, then upstairs, turned "as cold as any stone."

The camera work of the combat at Agincourt is wondrous, too. Strangely, while central to both movies, that actual battle is missing from Shakespeare's play. It's not that the Bard shirked from battle scenes—they are featured in his histories and tragedies alike—nor that Shakespeare recoiled from depicting his heroic, young king in combat—as prince, a ferocious Henry appears on the battlefield in *Henry IV, Part 1*. While remarkable, it nonetheless remains true that this, the Shakespeare play most concerned with battle, contains not a single battle scene.

Also a bit bizarre is that two key reasons for Henry's

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stunning victory at Agincourt—the English use of archers and of sharp stakes planted to prevent a French cavalry attack—go unmentioned by Shakespeare in *Henry V* (although, again, they appear in *Henry IV, Part 1*). True to history, but untrue to Shakespeare's *Henry V*, both feature prominently in both Branagh's and Olivier's films.

In real life, Henry was quite brave and adept in warfare. He excelled at logistics and at assault; Shakespeare's famous cry, "Once more unto the breach, dear friends, once more!" expresses Henry's sentiments precisely. Crowned in 1413 at the age of 25, Henry V had long helped govern England; his father, Henry IV, had been sickly for years. Although his father had usurped that throne, our Henry consolidated his power and country. He was a popular and competent king, rare for those times. As portrayed, he was a man of infinite surprises, tricks, and games, with an extraordinary bent for dramatic gestures. Yet contemporaries tell of his stiff demeanor and cold face. He seemed truly affectionate toward his wife of convenience, Katherine—another rarity for then—but neglected to mention her on his death bed (where, apparently, he mentioned nearly everything else). Henry V fell ill and died at age 35 and was buried two months later, after many garish processions, in Westminster Abbey.

O God of Battles

Olivier's *Henry* is all sparkle, as Sir Laurence made an unforgettable "pro-war" movie. Thus he intended. Olivier was, in fact, drafted into making the film by the British Ministry of Information—he was released from the military to do so—shortly after Dunkirk. Nationalism, even jingoism, was definitely "in" then, as Britain battled for its life.

Olivier's god-like young king crusades for the greater glory of God and England (not necessarily in that order). He battles on green fields in shimmering sunlight against a blue sky, where he whips the overwhelming French force cleanly and piously. No blemishes appear—not even those related by the pro-Henry Shakespeare, such as the treason of three English nobles and the swift squandering of all Henry V accomplished by his son. Branagh includes both points, although he, too, omits Henry's cruel and unconscionable slaughter of French noblemen already taken prisoner.

In all dramatic versions, as in life, Henry is one pious soul. This raises him and his warfare onto a high plane. Henry V mouths more references to God than, I believe, any other Shakespearean character. After the battle ends, Henry instructs his soldiers to sing "Te Deum," and "Non nobis," which ring out so upliftingly in Branagh's film. Henry, in life as in these productions, tells everyone repeatedly that God alone deserves the credit for victory. He forbids anyone from praising him for the heroic feats (which naturally everyone does, and has ever since).

All three versions of *Henry* seem glorious, because they get to something deep inside. They show war as bonding men in one exalted mission. People relish being engulfed in a grand crusade. Those who unite in any worthwhile pursuit—be it physical or mental, be it

Photofest

Sir Laurence Olivier's *Henry* is all sparkle, as he made an unforgettable "pro-war" movie shortly after Dunkirk. Nationalism, even jingoism, was definitely "in" then, as Britain battled for its life.

in the military, politics, or sports—invariably become a "band of brothers." Their binding together to accomplish some shared goal breaks once-strong distinctions of rank. Charles de Gaulle once claimed that no nation is great unless engaged in a great pursuit; so it is with individuals. Humans feel something special being in a foxhole together, or even being engaged in one mighty effort together, as any stop at a VFW hall would tell you. They feel such particularly when their cause is just. Henry V did unite the English kingdom when engaging in his French escapades. And he clearly felt

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his cause was just. Even on his deathbed, Henry claimed to be the rightful king of France.

Unlike Olivier, Branagh gives grounds for doubts about Henry's cause—bloody grounds. The Agincourt battlefield becomes a ghastly sight. No bright sun or blue skies here. Combat comes in a downpour, as happened on that morning of October 25, 1415. Mud was, in fact, the third winning factor at Agincourt (along with the archers and stakes) because the stupidly commanded French charged the English. By the time they tromped through the soaked wheat fields to reach the front, the heavily armored French soldiers were utterly exhausted. They were butchered rather than beaten by skillful soldiers.

In our era of "made for television" movies, *Henry V* is a "made for movie" play. As the chorus in *Henry V* candidly warns us, this play is too great for any stage. It needs the great outdoors to encompass its expanse and grandeur.

In this movie, as at Agincourt, mud permeates the scene. Brown rapidly turns reddish with blood and guts. Everyone in Branagh's battle is cold and miserable, and nearly every Frenchman dies a gruesome death. Agincourt did result in some 7,000 French casualties, nearly all of whom were "gentlemen of blood and quality," while the English lost from 400 to 500 (up notably from Shakespeare's tally).

Although gory, here was victory laden with glory. On this, the day of Saints Crispin and Crispian, the English were outnumbered 3 or 4 to 1 (some historians say by as much as 10 to 1) and yet won. Still, the fighting was more massacre than mastery. But this was, after all, the Middle Ages, a brutal time. At the tender, impressionable age of 13, Henry stood by his father as they watched a feuding nobleman being disemboweled, hanged, beheaded, and sliced up on the orders of his father, the king.

Let Us to France Like Horse-Leeches

Besides the battlefield butchery, filmgoers can view this *Henry V* as inglorious—"anti-war"—because of the war's misguided origins. Branagh, although fond of flashbacks, spares us the deathbed advice of Henry IV (in *Henry IV, Part 2*) when he bids our Henry find some country to attack (like France) so as to "busy giddy minds" at home "with foreign quarrels." But Branagh still does cause us to question Henry's campaign into France.

For it seems so frivolous. Sure, the film's opening scenes provide a smattering of religious and legal justifications for the war. But they are presented hurriedly and confusingly; they come across as altogether unconvincing. Sure, the clergy support the move, but they do so explicitly to keep Henry from appropriating their own lands. Instead of grabbing Church lands, he can grab French lands. And, sure, the noblemen back the war effort, but they're mostly hankering to plunder. Pistol says in the play (but not in this film): "Let us to France, like horse-leeches my boys. To suck, to suck, the very blood to suck!" Little noble sentiment here.

So one wonders whether this is a just war. Branagh's Henry watches, with tears welling, as his men hang his onetime buddy Bardolph for stealing something from a church in France. Why such sanctimonious enforcement when Henry himself is stealing France?

Nonetheless, no version of Henry portrays him as bloodthirsty. In the new film, he fiercely threatens to "waste" folks—precisely, to spit naked infants on pikes and rape the women—unless the French surrender their fort at Harfleur. Boyishly, he heaves one huge sigh of relief when they yield.

Himself mud-splattered and bloody-faced, Henry seems spent as the Agincourt battle ends. He's supposedly the commander but doesn't know how his side has fared. The "fog of war" blinds him. In a wonderful turnabout, he asks, not his own lieutenants, but the enemy envoy how it turned out. "I tell thee truly, herald, I know not if the day be ours or no," he asks plaintively.

The news is good.

The day is his, and the battle of Agincourt, as he predicted in his rousing St. Crispin's Day speech, then becomes legend. That legend long endured, while Henry's conquest did not. His campaign was for naught; all that was won was soon lost, and England's woes worsened. The quasi-rapacious realm of Henry V led to the ruinous rule of his mad son, Henry VI, and the unabashed marauding of Richard III.

The moviegoer doesn't see this, although one catches a word about it in the new film. What is clear, though, is the frivolous (although hilarious) way Henry courts Katherine. The decision to marry her in the last scene, like the decision to wage war in the first scene, is done unseriously.

Granted, that's the way it happened then (perhaps on both engagements), yet it strikes us as unsettling. And Henry comes off as similarly greedy in both. Although with a wink in his eye, Henry tells Katherine that she "should love the friend of France; for I love France so well that I will not part with a village of it—I will have it all mine."

Slaughter at Agincourt

Not in the least frivolous—quite outrageous, really—was Henry's wholesale slaughter of French prisoners at Agincourt. While both films display the French slaughter of the few British boys in the baggage camp, neither broaches this much larger incident.

According to contemporary reports, Henry's order

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to murder the prisoners (admittedly, after he received word they were causing problems behind the English fighters) was not carried out by his regular soldiers. They refused to follow the king's orders, which went so clearly against the laws of war. Henry had to turn to his bodyguards, who did the dirty deed. The prisoners were thus "sticked with daggers, brained with poleaxes, slain with malles," according to one historical account.

In his *History of the English Speaking Peoples,* Winston Churchill—no shrinking violet, indeed one who often glorified battle—judged Henry unwarranted in this gruesome act. The Agincourt victory shines with less luster when realizing that many of the French noblemen died thus.

Henry V was truly one of a kind, and all three works—Shakespeare's, Olivier's, and Branagh's—do him justice (if not then some). He came at the end of an era, the last truly medieval king. Later in the 15th century, gunpowder and printing were adopted, America was discovered, nation-states were consolidated, and the English Renaissance began.

Where does history leave Henry V? Churchill concludes, "Agincourt was a glittering victory, but the wasteful and useless campaigns that followed more than outweighed its military and moral value, and the miserable, destroying century that ensued casts its black shadow upon Henry's heroic triumph." Henry V's fair-minded modern biographer, Harold Hutchison, is no kinder: "There is no doubt that in Henry of Monmouth, England found its own patron saint of national glory. Like most idols, it has feet of clay."

Where does this leave Henry V for me? Still somewhat adoring. His was a bloody life, but his was a bloody time in history. For my part, Henry V will always be the callow prince-turned-king who united men in great pursuits, an underdog who pulled off spectacular victory.

Both *Henry*s show war as bonding men in one exalted mission.

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LETTERS

Representative Thomas J. Bliley Jr., Bryce J. Christensen, Gary L. Bauer, James Meredith, William A. Donohue, Frank Zepezauer, Barbara C. Wallace, Robert L. DuPont, Michael J. Bean, Michael T. Mentis, Edward B. Barbier and Joanne C. Burgess, Donald J. Devine, Mark Turiano, J. C. Willke, Doris Gordon, Carl F. H. Henry, Thomas L. Kenyon, Kim Hopper, James D. Wright, Francis G. Caro

Tax Breaks for Intact Families

Dear Sir:

Nicholas Davidson's "Life Without Father: America's Greatest Social Catastrophe" (Winter 1990), provides an impressive analysis of the problems in contemporary American family life. His findings are compelling evidence that many of the social ills plaguing our culture can be traced directly to the doorsteps of single-parent households.

While Mr. Davidson's compilation of studies clearly supports his conclusion that "Life Without Father" truly has tragic consequences, it does not necessarily lead us to his proposed changes as the remedy to these ills. The changing of laws regarding child support, divorce, and subsidies of single-parenthood is only an admission that government cannot repair what man has torn asunder. While legal reforms may prevent some families from breaking up, they would not address the *a priori* causes of family disintegration.

Certainly, there is enough blame for single-parenthood to spread around, and government must accept its share. As government tries to solve the problems created by single-parenthood, it should begin by creating incentives for families to remain intact. This could begin with reserving certain tax advantages, and providing new ones, for only those families in which both parents are present. Part of the problem is that individuals want the rights of marriage without its responsibilities. As long as social mores and government policies in our jealous and undisciplined age treat marriage and non-marital relations equally, the opportunity to escape responsibility is too great.

Representative Thomas J. Bliley Jr.
House Select Committee on
Children, Youth, and Families
Washington, DC

Lawmakers Don't Deserve All the Blame

Dear Sir:

Mr. Davidson deserves praise for bringing to light many of the social costs of family dissolution and father absence, and for drawing overdue attention to the ways in which government policies have encouraged the deplorable retreat from family life.

Since the time of Plato, utopian dreamers have tried to reshape society in ways that weaken family life. Typically a worldly surrogate for religious faith, utopianism enthralls a growing number of policymakers as is evident in current plans to establish a federal bureaucracy for child-care.

Still, I wonder about Mr. Davidson's conclusion that family decay has been "caused by laws that undermine the family" and that such decay "can be reversed by replacing those laws with better ones." Better, non-utopian laws would certainly make some difference. But it is naive or worse to suppose that lawmakers and judges bear sole responsibility for the decline in family life.

More than 30 years ago, long before "no-fault" divorce, the Harvard sociologist Pitirim Sorokin interpreted the decline in family life (already evident to his observant eyes) as symptomatic of moral and spiritual malaise. He predicted that this malaise would worsen, causing family life to unravel, resulting in cultural calamity and widespread suffering. Sorokin anticipated that family life would recover its vitality only through a great moral and spiritual renewal led by "new Saint Pauls, Saint Augustines, and great religious and ethical leaders."

It is not necessary to subscribe fully to Sorokin's views to realize that contemporary family life and public policy reflect moral and spiritual problems that will not be resolved simply by reforming our divorce and welfare laws—as welcome and necessary as such reforms may be.

Bryce J. Christensen
The Rockford Institute
Rockford, IL

Incentives for Abortion

Dear Sir:

Congratulations to Mr. Davidson for a bracing and important article. While there are many contenders for the booby prize named in Mr. Davidson's subhead—"America's Greatest Social Catastrophe"—Mr. Davidson has brought together ample evidence for the commonsense (and hence largely ignored) notion that fathers are essential to families, which in turn are essential to civilized society.

It often happens that in the heat

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of fresh thinking about social policy, proposals are made that do not partake of the wisdom of the initial insight. For instance, Mr. Davidson asks: "Would it be too much to announce that henceforth, AFDC will be denied to mothers who deliberately give birth to and raise a fatherless child—or at least to those who do so more than once?" Perhaps it would be: I see a grave potential here for incentives to abortion.

Mr. Davidson's proposals for curbing no-fault divorce fare better. There is growing consensus, across a wide swath of the spectrum, that no-fault divorce has been a disaster. The major disagreement in this new school is whether the divorce revolution has been a windfall for men at the expense of women (as Lenore Weitzman argues in *The Divorce Revolution)* or whether both sexes have been hurt. All agree that children have been hurt the most, and considered the least—with results such as those Mr. Davidson documents.

Gary L. Bauer
Family Research Council
Washington, DC

Bring Back "Big Mama"

Dear Sir:

Life without father, as Mr. Davidson maintains, is perhaps America's greatest social catastrophe and America cannot be made whole without correcting this problem. However, he is wrong, as are most other observers, regarding the question of the black race and finding a solution to our dilemma. Even if 100 percent of all black children had a mother and a father at home 24 hours a day, our problems would be just about as bad unless we reestablished the authority and control of the black extended family system.

Under the African-style extended family system, child-rearing responsibilities belonged to the elder members of the community. Because young black males were required to be absent from the community for long periods, middle-aged women became the primary disciplinarians.

The black extended family contained within itself a complete system of education. The black family taught every child of normal mental and physical capacity, by the age of 12, the basics of everything that the family knew. Until a generation ago, there was no such thing as a black person not knowing how to work.

Black Family System Undermined

The black extended family system was undermined and stripped of its authority when blacks migrated from the rural to the urban areas and into competition with the new white immigrants.

The principal policy objective of every urban government since the 1880s has been the containment and control of the black race. Unlike the prior users of black labor, who had always used the black extended family as the primary force for maintaining order, America's urban authorities universally used the police and justice systems to contain and control blacks. In order to do this, they had to break the authority of the black extended family system, especially the power of the black male. In the past 25 years, the main instrument of containment and control has shifted from the police to the social service agencies and education unions and bureaucracies, which are much more uncaring and cruel than the police ever were.

The changing of laws regarding child support, divorce, and subsidies of single-parenthood is only an admission that government cannot repair what man has torn asunder.

—Thomas J. Bliley Jr.

To reestablish the authority of the black extended family system we must:

- Solve the drug crisis by removing all drug addicts from the black community and placing them in institutions.
- Give complete authority to the black family to maintain order in the home and community, including the use of physical discipline.
- Change our juvenile laws. For criminal purposes, the age of responsibility must be changed to 12.
- The middle-aged black woman must be put back in charge of maintaining discipline and control in the education of black children. Without discipline there can be no education. Without "Big Mama" there can be no discipline for black males, ages 10 to 19. Never has been. Never will be.

James Meredith
Office of Senator Jesse Helms
Washington, DC

Inside the Beltway

Dear Sir:

Everything Mr. Davidson says about fatherless families is true: they are the font of many of the nation's psychological and social disorders. None of the popular explanations of our maladies—economic inequality, poor schools, raging hormones, alienation, discrimination, absence of compassion, greed—can begin to approach the explanatory powers that broken families have in accounting for social problems. But while Mr. Davidson has fingered the right culprit, the rest of his diagnosis and the remedies he prescribes are questionable.

For Mr. Davidson, "There is nothing mysterious about the immediate causes of social disintegration: it is caused by laws that undermine the family. It can be reversed by replacing those laws with better ones." This is classic inside-the-beltway thinking, positing that social problems are caused and cured by political engineering.

Drunk with Rights

Sure, lousy laws make for lousy consequences, but laws, just like music and art, are reflections of a culture's reigning priorities. And what reigns supreme in our society—it is our defining ethos—is an interpretation of liberty that values rights while disparaging responsibilities. We are so drunk with rights that most of us are too intoxicated to remember our responsibilities.

The family, more than any other institution, has always been predicated on responsibilities. If and when a culture sports a break in the traditional relationship between rights and responsibilities, it is only natural that the family should suffer.

So change the lousy laws, but add to the list of remedies the need to

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expose and challenge the cultural elites who continue to voice a reckless liberty-without-limits interpretation of freedom.

William A. Donohue
Department of Sociology
La Roche College
Pittsburgh, PA

Radicalism to Blame

Dear Sir:

Mr. Davidson demonstrates that father-absence has emerged as a major family policy issue. Focusing on it alone will not solve our other pressing family problems: divorce, delinquency, domestic violence, child abuse, illegitimacy, single-parent poverty, educational decline. But continuing to ignore it will frustrate efforts to restore stability to the American family.

The growing alienation of fathers from children is not just a side effect of well-intentioned social reform, or a mysterious outbreak of male irresponsibility. It happened, in part, because determined anti-family radicals wanted it to happen.

Lesbian Baby Boom

Thus, the appalling increase in out-of-wedlock births has been encouraged by increasingly accepted radical definitions of the family that drain meaning from "legitimacy." A small but significant number of women are now deliberately having children out of wedlock and are defending this new "woman's right" on ideological grounds. Radical feminist Adrienne Rich stated in *Of Women Born* that under the new sexual order our fundamental social unit will be formed not by the father/mother partnership but by the mother/child bond. The feminist Phyllis Chessler proclaimed that no child of "woman born" is illegitimate. Agree with them and you affirm that a family is "any woman and her child" in or out of wedlock or in defiance of wedlock altogether.

This theory of the mother-only family has sanctioned, for example, a lesbian "baby boom," a phrase used in a 1989 *New York Times* report. We already knew about the trend toward "elective single parenting" and about celebrity mothers who openly bear children out of wedlock, assured that they were not only in fashion but in accord with *de facto* law.

Mr. Davidson reminds us that we have a tough struggle ahead. We can start by combatting deliberate attempts to set up fatherless families and by restoring the legitimacy principle to our official definition of the family.

Contemporary family life and public policy reflect moral and spiritual problems that will not be resolved simply by reforming our divorce and welfare laws—as welcome and necessary as such reforms may be.
—Bryce J. Christensen

Frank Zepezauer
Sunnyvale, CA

Nicholas Davidson responds:

I fully agree with Mr. Christensen's statement that "it is naive or worse to suppose that lawmakers and judges bear sole responsibility for the decline in family life." Clearly, the primary responsibility rests with philosophers, scientists, and the social reformers acting under the influence of their ideas.

By the same token, I think that Mr. Christensen is mistaken in calling for "moral and spiritual renewal" as the primary solution to modern social problems—desirable as such a development might be. This is in no way to downplay the importance of morals, but rather to insist that moral decline is more consequence than cause.

To speak plainly: contemporary conservatives typically confuse the function of morals with the function of laws, expecting that the former will do the office of the latter. However—to take one salient example—it is much less true that bad morals in the black community led to welfare dependency than that the welfare system led to a decline in morals. Representative Bliley goes to the heart of the matter when he says our essential problem is that we now "treat marriage and non-marital relations equally."

Without a clear understanding of what we have lost and what must be restored, attempts to ameliorate the social problems this causes are not only futile but likely to be counterproductive. For instance, many religious conservatives have recently been persuaded that draconian child support laws are the answer to the divorce question. Their good intentions are certainly not in doubt—yet, when combined with today's easy divorce and automatic maternal custody, this policy removes the last shreds of institutional support from paternal authority.

Legitimacy Crisis

Mr. Zepezauer grasps this point clearly. As he writes, "The growing alienation of fathers from children is not just a side effect of well-intentioned social reform, or a mysterious outbreak of male irresponsibility. It happened, in part, because determined anti-family radicals wanted it to happen." Therefore, the current fashion of lecturing men on their "irresponsibility," as Mr. Donohue seems ready to do, misses the essential point that, with the father stripped of nearly all rights, responsibility is no longer within his power, in the absence of extraordinary individual virtue. The pro-family movement must recall the wisdom of the Founding Fathers who, with full cognizance of the failings of human nature, set up a political system that would work despite those undoubted failings, or rather because of them. When we apply this wisdom to family policy, we will indeed be able to reverse the processes of social disintegration—not before.

Inpatient Treatment, AA Vital

Dear Sir:

In his article, "Cut the Crack: A Policymaker's Guide to Cocaine Treatment" (Winter 1990), Richard A. Rawson describes an approach to outpatient cocaine and crack treatment that is both comprehensive and intensive. Mr. Rawson outlines the kind of quality comprehensive and intensive outpatient programs that all addicts need whether they have private insurance, Medicaid, or no means of payment for treatment. However, there are several points upon which I disagree with him.

I find most disheartening Mr.

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Rawson's assertion that many "of these cocaine abusers won't be able to get off the drug no matter what treatment they receive. These hard-core abusers may be mentally ill, are often heavily involved in criminal activity, and generally suffer severe societal problems such as chronic unemployment." My work on the New York metropolitan area's first specialized "crack" detoxification unit, and my familiarity with New York state's efforts to develop programs for the mentally ill chemically dependent, and residential therapeutic community programs for pregnant and homeless addicts counter this and other conclusions Mr. Rawson draws.

The Need for Inpatient Treatment

Although Mr. Rawson notes that he would put the hard-core crack user "who has been on a binge in the streets for a long time...in the hospital for three to five days," he maintains that for the most part inpatient treatment is excessively expensive and often unnecessary. However, my experience at Interfaith Medical Center in Brooklyn, New York, with crack patients was that even a seven-day inpatient stay was not sufficient. Even research showing the efficacy of outpatient treatment acknowledges that for high-severity patients an inpatient hospital stay needs to precede outpatient treatment.

Job Training Advantage

Contrary to Mr. Rawson's conclusion that therapeutic communities (TCs) "aren't appropriate" for most addicts, at least 50 percent of the crack smokers I treated needed 1-, 3-, or 6-month TC stays, with direct entrance into outpatient treatment after the TC phase.

Many individuals who entered treatment severely debilitated from compulsive crack smoking, appearing to be hard-core crack addicts, had substantial work histories and supportive family networks. Many were once schoolteachers, post office supervisors, white collar bank employees, transit workers, and executive secretaries. They varied—depending upon their addiction and psychosocial functioning—in their need for either outpatient or residential TC referrals post-detoxification.

Policymakers need only visit a TC to talk to hard-core crack addicts who once were dealers, prostitutes, and treatment failures within many different programs to realize the huge mistake of writing off a segment of the crack population as "hopeless." One of the most exciting aspects of therapeutic community treatment involves the abundance of training for jobs in the computer, wordprocessing, and numerous other industries that patients can engage in while in the TC. After two years in a therapeutic community, these hard-core addicts (who may have lacked skills and stable employment histories prior to entering the TC) typically end up with their own apartment and a well-paying job.

The Role of 12-Step Programs

Contrary to Mr. Rawson's observations regarding the use of 12-Step programs or anonymous self-help groups by minorities, these groups are used in very large numbers by inner-city youth and minorities in the New York metropolitan area. Narcotics Anonymous is used in greatest numbers by racial minorities, partly because Cocaine Anonymous groups are fewer in number and not widely available in every borough of New York. Some crack smokers prefer AA groups, because they reflect the kind of longevity and more stable tradition Mr. Rawson describes. Unfortunately, many homeless inner-city crack smokers leave inpatient detoxification with referrals to shelters, as they wait anywhere up to three weeks to enter a therapeutic community. NA groups are then attended sometimes three times per day, as the only hope of receiving the support necessary to remain drug-free. Policymakers must acknowledge that NA often remains the only treatment available for many patients who lack Medicaid or insurance for outpatient treatment.

Policymakers cannot merely ask treatment professionals, "What works?" They must ask, "What works for whom, within what phase of recovery, and in which treatment modality within a continuum of care?" The answers are complicated. However, the ultimate and much higher costs to society of crack babies, abused children, and families separated by prison walls require our patience in comprehending the complex dimensions of the crack treatment challenge.

Barbara C. Wallace
Department of African American Studies
City University of New York
New York, NY

The Miracle of 12-Step Recovery

Dear Sir:

Mr. Rawson's excellent article is an important contribution to the still small amount of literature on the treatment of crack addiction. Mr. Rawson's focus on the advantages of outpatient treatment (lower cost, longer duration, better integration between life with treatment and life after treatment, and less disruption of the patient's life) is right on target.

As a physician who has treated chemically dependent patients for more than two decades, including dozens who have been addicted to

Free 12-Step programs are vital for people who lack health insurance coverage in these days of limited publicly funded chemical dependence treatment.
—Robert L. DuPont

crack, I am more impressed than Mr. Rawson appears to be with the vital importance of the 12-Step programs in the lifelong process of recovery. He notes that his own program needs to do more to integrate its treatment with the 12-Step programs, especially the spiritual dimension of these programs. He is on solid ground with this observation: All the agencies dealing with chemical dependence need to do a better job integrating their work with the 12-Step, mutual-aid programs.

Not only do chemical dependence programs need to do a better job of preparation, referral, and support of patients sent to Alcoholics Anonymous, Narcotics Anonymous, and Cocaine Anonymous meetings, but so do agencies of the courts, workplace employee assistance

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programs, schools and colleges, and those involved in medical care. Harnessing the miracle of 12-Step recovery is one of the nation's major agenda items for the 1990s.

Finally, I have not found, as Mr. Rawson appears to have, that the 12-Step programs are less acceptable to or less effective for the lower classes or minorities. The basic 12-Step format appears to be universal in its appeal, with the makeup of each group reflecting, in ways that few treatment programs can, the particular needs of specific cultural, educational, and income groups. The 12-Step programs, being free of cost, are, in fact, especially vital for people who lack health insurance coverage in these days of limited publicly funded chemical dependence treatment.

Robert L. DuPont, M.D.
DuPont Associates
Rockville, MD

Ivory Ban Will Stop Demand

Dear Sir:

In their article ("Herd Mentality: Banning Ivory Sales Is No Way to Save the Elephant," Fall 1989), Randy T. Simmons and Urs P. Kreuter label ivory and other wildlife trade bans as an American- and European-inspired "biological imperialism imposed regardless of local realities and values for wildlife." Leaving aside their rhetorical excess, there is certainly truth in the observation that "local realities" will greatly influence the success or failure of efforts to conserve wildlife.

Many hard-core crack addicts were once schoolteachers, post office supervisors, white collar bank employees, transit workers, and executive secretaries.
—Barbara C. Wallace

Unfortunately, local realities differ. What may work in South Africa may not work elsewhere. As Mr. Simmons and Mr. Kreuter observe, even in countries that encourage game ranching and commercial utilization, "patrolling efforts need to be funded at levels that make poaching too risky." That South Africa can flex enough muscle to suppress poaching of elephants in its parks is hardly surprising, given its facility at suppressing greater challenges.

The "local reality" in many other countries is that there is neither enough funding nor enough stability and authority to prevent poaching, whether the country's official policy favors wildlife utilization or strict protection. If elephants are to survive in these countries, stopping—or at least putting a very big dent in—the international demand for ivory may be the only short-term step that makes sense.

Trade Ban Saved Alligators

The American alligator is now sufficiently abundant and well managed to support a sizeable commercial harvest. Only a few decades ago, however, it was on the ropes because of excessive, uncontrolled poaching and interstate trade. To secure the survival of this species throughout its range, trade everywhere was temporarily banned. Louisiana, where alligators were most abundant even at the nadir of the animal's fortunes, objected to these across-the-board restrictions, just as South Africa now objects to ivory controls unnecessary for its own elephants.

The alligator trade ban ultimately made possible, however, the recovery of the species throughout its range and the initiation of a controlled and sustainable commercial harvest. At this juncture, an ivory trade ban appears necessary to give the elephant a similar chance at recovery.

Michael J. Bean
Chairman, Wildlife Program
Environmental Defense Fund
Washington, DC

Rhino and Wildebeest

Dear Sir:

The traditional approaches to wildlife conservation are failing, and alternatives are needed. Mr. Simmons and Mr. Kreuter are to be complimented. What goes for elephants goes for much else also.

I recall a period in the 1970s when banning exports and imports of rhino products was first mooted. South African game ranchers complained that bans would curtail the funds for conservation, to the detriment of rhino and other wildlife.

It has been alleged that attempts by the authorities, the Natal Parks Board in particular, to establish breeding nuclei of white rhino on private land have failed. An important reason for this failure has been because rhino from overpopulated parks were sold to private individuals at subsidized prices. Under the circumstances, there was financial incentive for buyers of rhino to sell immediately at great profit to trophy hunters. This was the obvious financial preference to establishing breeding nuclei and gaining an interim return on outlay via tourism. Such tourism in any case faced "unfair" competition from national parks, which were subsidized by the taxpayer.

Surplus state rhino are now being auctioned at market-related prices, and we wait in excited anticipation to see the developments.

The $uccess of Ranching

Private game ranching in South Africa is possibly better developed than anywhere. The reason for this is not hard to find. In South Africa, wildlife law allows landowners to earn an income from the wildlife on their land.

Under these laws, private landowners in South Africa have saved species from extinction (*e.g.*, black wildebeest and blesbok). Landowners are largely responsible, and proudly so, for the healthy conservation status of myriad small game species, songbirds, *etc.* The privatized wildlife industry annually earns over $500 million.

One farmer put it to me thus about wildlife on his land: "If it pays it stays." If it does not pay, national and international laws are most unlikely to help, as Mr. Simmons and Mr. Kreuter explain. So let us build up, rather than tear down, the values of wildlife.

Michael T. Mentis
University of the Witwatersrand
Republic of South Africa

Limited Ivory Moratorium

Dear Sir:

We agree with Mr. Simmons and Mr. Kreuter's general thesis, that an indefinite and complete ban on all

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ivory products is an inappropriate policy for saving the African elephant. In the long run, incentives to supply ivory illegally will increase as rising profits are captured by those engaging in the illegal trade. It is very tempting, therefore, to argue against the ivory ban, as the authors do. Unfortunately, their arguments ignore important economic aspects of the decline in the elephant population.

Inadequate Supply

It is not supply but its relationship to demand that determines the price of ivory. The authors note that ivory is highly valued, especially in Asia, and its price has skyrocketed since the 1960s. But they do not point out that prices have risen because the supply of ivory from Africa has failed to satisfy demand, which increased rapidly until the mid-1980s. Although the demand for ivory appears to have declined in recent years, price increases have continued. Part of the explanation lies in the fact that supply and quality of ivory have also declined—as evidenced by the fall in average tusk weight from the authors' out-of-date estimate of 10 kg per tusk to 4–5 kg, and the dramatic halving of the entire African elephant population over the past seven years.

Nevertheless, the high income-elasticity of demand for ivory suggests that there will be a strong demand for ivory in rapidly developing Asian countries for some years to come. Even if properly managed, sustainable off-take of ivory from the present elephant population could not meet this demand. The decimated East African elephant populations need time to recover before any harvesting is possible. Some forest elephant populations in Central Africa may also require a recovery period. Thus, "applying the successful elephant conservation policies of South African nations" to the rest of Africa is presently unrealistic, and legalizing the elephant trade across Africa is not sufficient to eliminate the incentives for illegal harvesting.

Control Supply *and* Demand

What is instead required is an international regulatory system for legal trade from the sustainably managed African elephant populations, supported by a cartel of ivory-exporting and -consuming countries willing to take measures to reduce demand. Export taxes could be used to retain earnings from ivory in the producing countries and to provide revenues for conservation efforts. The latter would include community-based wildlife utilization schemes as suggested by the authors. However, a limited moratorium on trade for some African countries may also be necessary until they can establish sustainable yield systems and community participation.

Edward B. Barbier
Joanne C. Burgess
London Environmental
Economics Centre
London, United Kingdom

Randy T. Simmons and Urs P. Kreuter respond:

Mr. Bean dismisses our reference to representatives from Western nations pursuing a biological imperialism in Africa. But despite apparent good intentions, the trade ban is in fact a convenient way to impose Western values on Africans. One Zimbabwean official even characterized representatives of U.S. environmental groups as "fat little puppies from urban environments who don't know a thing about Africa."

Applying the successful elephant conservation policies of South African nations to the rest of Africa is presently unrealistic, and legalizing the elephant trade across Africa is not sufficient to eliminate the incentives for illegal harvesting.

—Edward B. Barbier and
Joanne C. Burgess

A powerful manifestation of conservation-as-paternalism was the resolution passed at October's meeting of signatories to the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES). This resolution outlawed international trade in ivory, including virtually all ivory acquired since February 26, 1976. Such a vote is an astonishing show of arrogance by the Western world toward African and Asian craftsmen, storekeepers, and individual owners who have legally purchased ivory during the past 14 years. An international, predominantly white, political body is attempting to steal life savings, centuries-old skills and customs, and jobs in the name of conservation. The harm is compounded by attempting to force the adoption of a system guaranteed to maintain poverty among rural Africans and likely to further reduce elephant numbers.

Mr. Bean refers only to South Africa, but our article described the Zimbabwean experience as well. And the major difference between Zimbabwe and East and Central African countries is in its wildlife conservation legislation. Zimbabwean landowners have a high level of control and use rights to wildlife on their land, and wildlife use is not limited to non-consumptive use. Thus, landowners have an incentive to effectively manage wildlife and habitat. Communities on the communal lands have similar use rights to their wildlife. Such incentives do not exist where wildlife use is restricted to non-consumptive tourism in national parks, where local inhabitants cannot benefit.

If Zimbabwe were to accept the ivory trade ban, elephants would simply be killed as pests because they compete with people for resources. Any future wildlife utilization programs would be viewed with suspicion by subsistence farmers, for they too might be short-lived. Who knows when CITES delegates, sipping wine in expensive Swiss hotels, might change their minds about another species and wipe out years of accumulated capital?

Mr. Bean fails to recognize the point made by Mr. Barbier and Ms. Burgess—that there will continue to be a strong demand for ivory in rapidly developing Asian countries. Part of that demand can be met by other sources of ivory. In Japan, for example, the price of mammoth ivory has gone from $50/kg to over $2,000/kg since the CITES ban was announced. But the rest will be met by elephant ivory provided by poachers and corrupt government officials if legal rights to elephants are not established and protected.

Mr. Barbier and Ms. Burgess are correct that simply "legalizing trade

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across Africa is not sufficient to eliminate the incentives for illegal harvesting." Unless property and other use rights are established and protected, such as in Zimbabwe, there will not be sufficient incentives to protect sustainable herds. Zambia provides a good example. Until local communities gained a measure of control over wildlife, poaching was rampant. Now the former poachers are actively involved in the legal trade and in protecting their assets—the wildlife. The fact that Zimbabwe, Botswana, Zambia, and other countries are developing innovative, sustainable programs suggests other countries can do so as well.

One Zimbabwean official even characterized representatives of U.S. environmental groups as "fat little puppies from urban environments who don't know a thing about Africa."

—Randy T. Simmons and Urs P. Kreuter

"Welfare State" a Misnomer

Dear Sir:

Adam Meyerson has accurately portrayed the substance of Adam Smith's thought on the role of government, but he has given it an inappropriate label ("Adam Smith's Welfare State: Generous Government Is Consistent with a Market Economy," Fall 1989). To call Smith's philosophy by the name "welfare state capitalism"—that is the rub.

Historically, the term "welfare state" was developed as a contrast to Smithian capitalism. Intellectually, the idea of the welfare state implies that the function of the state is to provide for the people's welfare, all of it that the state deems necessary.

While one can debate the degree, it is absolutely certain that Smith wanted to limit the state to a relatively few functions, clearly not guaranteeing all welfare. Moreover, there is very little reason to believe that the national government was to be the exclusive or even major instrument for public welfare. Although Mr. Meyerson's article does mention local government, I would emphasize it more. The educational and relief programs in Scotland were regional, not national. The firewall laws were local government responsibilities. And Smith very clearly gives the national government a limited role in the area of highways.

I like the article because it made me re-think one of my favorite philosophers. It is only the labeling that shocks.

Donald J. Devine
Citizens for America
Washington, DC

Utilitarian Calculus Difficult to Apply

Dear Sir:

Mr. Meyerson's article contains a few implicit assumptions that are debatable. The main one is that if Adam Smith said it, it must be (or at least probably is) right. If Smith, the great defender of free trade, saw some degree of welfarism as compatible with free trade, then it might just be. In fact, wouldn't it be nice if it were—then conservatives could champion these popular policies and still contend they weren't abandoning their free-trade principles.

Nevertheless, there is good reason to think that Smith was wrong. In any type of welfare state the sovereignty of the individual is violated. However, according to Smith this is okay, if in the process great suffering is alleviated.

Freedom's Efficiency

But freedom will always lead to suffering, if people are free to make their own choices. The ability to make good choices is not a gift from God; it has to be developed. The functioning of this ability leads to human happiness and flourishing. To some extent it is not even the consequences of rationality alone that are the sources of happiness but the fact that the individual knows he is responsible for his happiness. Government, in isolating individuals from the consequences of their choices (through wealth redistribution or the provision of medical care) or forcing them to make the right ones (compulsory education), takes away this source of happiness.

How much well-being is government preventing by pursuing a specific policy (let's say erecting tariff barriers)? How much is it promoting? If a policy promotes more well-being than it takes away, shouldn't government pursue it? The trouble is, how do you measure these things? You are comparing observable effects to unseen ones.

However, there are more important reasons than efficiency to allow freedom in the marketplace. Freedom is an important value independent of its tendency to promote efficiency in the market. Political freedom allows people to define clearly their own spheres of moral sovereignty. The individual's moral space thus defined allows him to make choices and forces him to accept the consequences; it encourages responsibility and rationality, and allows the individual to enjoy the full benefits (material and spiritual) of living rationally.

Any welfare measures like the ones Smith apparently endorsed, while perhaps resulting in overall gains according to some utilitarian calculus, certainly violate the principle of individual freedom, and this is always harmful. If anything, Mr. Meyerson's article shows the weakness of a utilitarian defense of the free market. If the free market is only to be valued because "restrictions on economic freedom cause more suffering than they alleviate," then Smith is right, and freedom must be suppressed. However, the only value to be gained in accepting Smith's arguments is that politicians will be able to support popular welfare policies and still claim to favor the free market.

Mark Turiano
Auburn, AL

Adam Meyerson responds:

Mr. Devine is right, of course: Adam Smith's view of government was far different from the ordinary meaning of the "welfare state"—where centralized government takes primary responsibility for the economic and social security of its citizens. I was employing a form of editor's license, designed to attract readers' attention to the political relevance of Smith's thought for lovers of capitalism who are trying to build a governing majority today.

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At a time when electorates are attracted both to markets *and* to a large role for government in health, education, social insurance, *etc.*, Smith provides a framework for defining what government should and shouldn't do that could both advance freedom and appeal to voters. Pro-market politicians can learn a great deal from Smith's argument that government has many responsibilities, but its size should be limited by the six principles I described in my article (including Mr. Devine's emphasis on local government).

Mr. Turiano worries that Smith's framework is too utilitarian, and is really a slippery slope toward justifying virtually any government program. My answer is: Have more faith in freedom. Markets usually work better than any other system, because as Smith understood, they are based on human nature and because they bring out the greatest creativity in the human mind. Lovers of freedom on philosophical grounds will doom themselves to political irrelevance if they are not prepared to make—and win—utilitarian arguments. Sometimes, as Smith argued, the utilitarian argument goes against pure economic freedom. But not usually. When it does, maybe libertarians could learn something from the compassionate populism that drew Smith to a *limited* welfare state as well as to capitalism.

The Art of the Possible

Dear Sir:

John-Peter A. Pham is certainly right in proposing a broad spectrum of "remedies" to today's abortion holocaust ("Pragmatists for Life: Banning Abortions Is Not Always the Best Way to Reduce Them," Fall 1989). Politics is described as the "art of the possible," and returning legal protection to the unborn will be exactly that.

It will be different in each state. Restrictive laws cannot be passed if the people of a state are strongly pro-abortion. However, let's never forget that the law is a great teacher, and that not only how people act, but also what they think is moral, has been, and will be partly shaped by what the law says. Therefore, our objective would be to pass as protective (of fetal life) a law as we can get and perhaps a little more.

Another time-dependent factor in this teaching/learning dynamic will be experience. An excellent example was the Hyde Amendment, which cut off federal funding of 300,000 welfare abortions a year. The chief medical spokesman for the pro-abortion side predicted "blood running from the alleys and upwards of 75 maternal deaths a year from botched abortions." Well, the ban did go into effect, and three years later he had to publicly admit that his prediction was wrong, as no deaths had occurred. Since that time we've not heard his argument seriously pressed as an argument against restriction of tax funding of elective abortions.

House by house, block by block, the rights of the preborn will be slowly granted and the present unlimited right to kill slowly restricted.

J. C. Willke, M.D.
National Right to Life Committee
Washington, DC

The Issue Is Homicide

Dear Sir:

I share Mr. Pham's frustration, but as a libertarian, I wouldn't call the abortion debate an "almost unwinnable contest of choice versus anti-choice." Abortion is a hot debate among libertarians. To "leave the issue of abortion rights alone" would seem like conceding that we have been trying to impose our merely personal morality on others. Why cast the debate in pro-abortion terms when there's not one sound reason for those alleged rights, but many for prenatal rights?

Many states are soft on abortion because the issue is camouflaged in libertarian terms: "nonintervention-tionism, personal privacy," *etc.* Should we not reply that those values apply to victimless crimes, not to homicide, and that the right to choose means "except when there's a victim?"

Fetus as Trespasser

Some talk of a conflict of rights between woman and child and conclude the woman's come first. Should we not say there's no such conflict; parents not only have no right to kill their offspring, they have the obligation to support them?

When pro-abortionists invoke the right to control one's own body, they don't necessarily mean abortion isn't homicide—many admit it is. They're only pretending that the child is a trespasser and may be "evicted." Everyone knows that parents must use their bodies to support their infants. Yet not many abortion defenders claim that the right to control one's body gives parents either a right to kill infants or a right to evict them from home. For prenatal children, their mother's womb is home.

I was pro-abortion until I realized why having to continue an unwanted pregnancy is neither slavery nor charity.

—Doris Gordon

I was pro-abortion until I realized why having to continue an unwanted pregnancy is neither slavery nor charity. Many pro-abortion libertarians are terrified of acknowledging parental obligation for infants, I'm told, for they see its importance to abortion. Pro-lifers should take notice.

Sometimes even pro-lifers call prenatal human beings "potential human life," meaning "potential person." But a category between "person" and "non-person" is meaningless. Only persons have the inalienable right not to be killed. There is no in-between status, for life or death is an either-or.

Many strategies are necessary to curb abortions, but none will work if we don't defend prenatal rights. We have not yet begun to fight on that level.

Doris Gordon
Libertarians for Life
Wheaton, MD

Remember Auschwitz

Dear Sir:

Mr. Pham is right in saying that ultimate success in curbing abortions will not come from federal, state, or local political processes and legislative regulation. But neither can a cultural and social strategy *per*

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se be relied on to achieve ultimate success, since culture and society may in fact erode rather than preserve the dignity of human life.

Were theological and moral sanctions once again to shape human loyalties in accord with the Judeo-Christian heritage, the wholesale slaughter of fetuses would be looked upon with the same horror as Auschwitz and Buchenwald. The argument for natural law fails to achieve an environment in which the banning of abortion would be both natural and obeyed.

It is absolutely certain that Adam Smith wanted to limit the state to a relatively few functions, clearly not guaranteeing all welfare.
—Donald J. Devine

Even so, no solid reason exists why a sanction with the best promise of success may not be compatible with a lesser strategy that promotes partial success. The fact that a truly regenerate human nature will best restrain mankind from committing murder is not a reason for avoiding legislation that makes murder a capital offense.

Too Much Emphasis on the Law

Nonetheless, right-to-life activists placed too much emphasis on legislative goals. Their regard for abortion as murder under any and all circumstances lost the support of people who would allow abortion in cases of sexual assault and of threat to the mother's life, as did their desire to legislate upon the masses positions that their own church constituencies clearly compromise in practice. A right-to-life strategy that opposed abortion on demand and federal funding of abortions would have achieved legislative gains that might well have been gradually extended through example, education, and proclamation.

The right-to-life cause impaired its own effort by attacking and impugning some leaders who did not share their agenda in all details, yet who vigorously opposed abortion-on-demand. A confrontational approach that neglected representative political processes did not help; it was a further liability. If moral positions are to be decided ultimately by massive public demonstration, not only a sound democracy but a significant morality also is doomed.

Carl F. H. Henry
Arlington, VA

John-Peter A. Pham responds:

Dr. Willke is correct in stating that the fight to protect the rights of unborn children will resemble a pitched "house by house, block by block" battle. All too many sincere and well-intentioned segments of the pro-life movement today fix their eyes narrowly upon the end we all aspire to, the complete cessation of the American abortion holocaust, and, as a result, lose sight of the means of getting there. These individuals would have us squander our political and moral capital on an all-or-nothing attempt to take the abortion establishment by storm. Needless to say, the attempt is ill-advised at best and suicidal at worst. Public opinion polls have consistently shown that nearly two-thirds of Americans think that abortion is immoral and that between 50 and 85 percent favor restrictions on the currently legal abortion on demand (the wide distribution reflects varying degrees of support for specific restrictions). The same polls also indicate that over 70 percent of Americans oppose an immediate ban on all abortions. Not only are those pro-life leaders who advocate the absolutist position risking the alienation of a majority of Americans from our cause, but they also jeopardize the past decade's gains, including closing the window of hope opened by the *Webster* decision. As I stated in my article, I am not certain that the current U.S. Supreme Court is prepared to tackle *Roe* v. *Wade* directly. While I hope that I am wrong, the current litigation over the Pennsylvania Abortion Statute of 1989 may bear this out.

Attack the Roots of Abortion

Ms. Gordon makes some very salient points concerning the problems intrinsic to pro-life attempts to define the parameters of the abortion debate and with the incremental legislative strategy; and I agree with Mr. Henry's assertion that right-to-life activists place too much emphasis on legislative goals. While unborn children deserve and need legal recognition of their basic human right to life, simply having a piece of legislation on the books will not protect them from the primary cause of the abortion tragedy. While the Supreme Court may have given its *nihil obstat* to abortion, the actual slaughter is only explicable if one acknowledges the profound moral disarmament and lack of respect for the sanctity and dignity of human life that underlies abortion. A much greater proportion of pro-life resources needs to be allocated to education and to attacking this root of abortion.

In drafting their public policy stances, pro-life leaders would do well to remember that legislation is only effective insofar as it is not too far from the public consensus. As Saint Thomas Aquinas noted in the *Summa Theologica,* "Human law does not prohibit every vice from which virtuous men abstain, but only the more serious ones from which the majority can abstain."

Don't Attack Advocates

Dear Sir:

Carl F. Horowitz's article on homelessness ("Mitch Snyder's Phony Numbers: The Myth of Three Million Homeless," Summer 1989) was disappointing, both in its misunderstanding of efforts to assess the size of the homeless population, and particularly in its indiscriminate denigration of "homeless advocates."

Who are the homeless advocates Mr. Horowitz so reviles? Homeless advocates are those who work with and for the homeless—who make daily sacrifices to provide them with sustenance and hope. They are conservatives and liberals, service providers and volunteers—all those Americans who refuse to accept homelessness as a permanent fixture of our national landscape. They are not Mr. Horowitz's "irrational social type" engaged in a "McCarthyist game" to hide the truth about homelessness.

I know of no homeless advocate who would dispute the importance of reliable data in planning and delivering assistance. In an effort to

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arrive at a national estimate, numerous studies have been conducted, some of which Mr. Horowitz mentions. Each of these is an estimate of the size of the homeless population, based on extrapolation, survey, local counts, *etc.* Each study's methodology has its proponents and its opponents. But none actually counts the homeless, a task that,

How are the episodically homeless to be counted? If one person is homeless six different times in the span of a year, should that add one or six to the annual count?

—James D. Wright

even if possible, would be prohibitively expensive. Not even the Census Bureau will attempt to count the homeless. Instead, its 1990 census will focus on enumerating certain segments of the homeless population that it is able to count.

A Consensus Exists

On the other hand, the reports do seem to share a degree of consensus on the general size of the homeless population. There is some agreement that between 750,000 and 1 million people are homeless on any one day. Over the course of a year, a much larger number of people is likely to experience homelessness (the National Alliance to End Homelessness estimates 1.3 million to 2 million). This discrepancy between daily and annual numbers may account for some of the higher estimates that Mr. Horowitz so derides.

While they recognize the importance of having concrete numbers, those who deliver shelter and services to the homeless find it frustrating to spend time and resources debating a national total while turning desperate homeless people away. They are also frustrated when the lack of hard data is used as an excuse for inactivity in providing emergency relief, particularly when the need for such relief is readily apparent on our streets and in our shelters.

No Strident Polemic

Despite these frustrations, most homeless advocates are willing to continue trying to quantify the problem, and do so in local surveys and shelter counts. But the primary concern of most people is getting homeless people off the streets and providing them with permanent housing.

The "tenor of the homeless movement," far from being the strident polemic Mr. Horowitz describes, is the sacrifice and caring of an untold number of American volunteers, service providers, and homeless people. Rather than attacking them, Mr. Horowitz should be thankful that they have their priorities intact and are working to rid this nation of the disgrace of homelessness.

Thomas L. Kenyon
National Alliance to End
Homelessness, Inc.
Washington, DC

Accurate Count Impossible

Dear Sir:

Any critic who sets out to police the methodological failings of others had better have his own house in order. Such, unfortunately, is not the case with Mr. Horowitz's diatribe against Mitch Snyder's "phony numbers." And a careful reader is left wondering whether Mr. Horowitz doth protest too much.

Even if one grants that "problem definition precedes solution," it isn't clear that "an accurate count" is the first and indispensable step in that process. Yes, "numbers matter," but a better grasp of what it is we are trying to measure matters more. The emerging picture of contemporary homelessness raises serious questions about the feasibility and value of the count Mr. Horowitz longs for.

Mr. Horowitz sees the "street to shelter ratio" as the "crucial" determinant of the validity of a homeless survey. He does not seem to recognize what common sense and research (*e.g.*, B. Lee, *Demographics*, May 1989) both suggest: that given great variation in local forces of displacement, size of vulnerable populations, state of affordable housing, and the quality and quantity of emergency shelter, there can be no one charmed figure for such a ratio. Climate, season, location, rumors (of jobs, mainly), and local reception all enter the equation as well. One cannot predict the number of shelter beds from, say, the size of a city; nor can one reliably extrapolate from shelter to street count. Each area would have to be searched—an all but impossible task.

Many Stay with Family and Friends

But the point runs deeper and concerns the logic of the ratio itself. The fundamental error in such an approach is to assume that "the street" adequately catches the range of makeshift lodgings that homeless persons avail themselves of. Researchers in Los Angeles, Chicago, Minneapolis, and New York have begun to document that rapid turnover in the ranks of the homeless and repeated bouts of homelessness are increasingly the rule rather than the exception.

If so, this shifts the scope and focus of inquiry. Rather than the "survival strategies of street folks" (as Jim Baumohl and Henry Miller in mid-1970s Berkeley, and Ellen Baxter and I in early 1980s New York formulated the question), it is the subsistence patterns of the marginal poor at large that must be understood. Half of the "extremely poor" comparison group in Sosin, *et al.*'s study in Chicago had been homeless in the past, some of them repeatedly. Three-quarters of a "high risk" group of welfare recipients in New York had been involuntarily displaced in the past and never showed up in the emergency shelter system; they made do with friends or family until they were able to secure replacement housing.

Absent a major overhaul in the low-income housing supply in this country, resort to custom and kinship—rather than formal shelters—is likely to remain the dominant response to displacement. If better "problem definition" is needed, might we not more profitably set ourselves to the task of understanding how (if?) we can mute the damage and enhance the supportive capacity of such networks, and thus avoid the ever more costly mushrooming of shelter systems?

Kim Hopper
Assistant Professor of
Medical Anthropology
City University of New York
Medical School
New York, NY

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Who Are the Homeless?

Dear Sir:

Mr. Horowitz raises valid concerns about the most widely cited estimate of the number of homeless in America. That number, three million, is the official estimate of the National Coalition for the Homeless and is five or more times the number suggested by legitimate scientific studies. The disparity, however, may be more apparent than real.

There is, first, no universally agreed upon definition of what we mean by homeless. Everyone agrees on the extremes of a definition but not on the ambiguous cases. Are people who live in rooming or boarding houses to be counted among the homeless? What of those who live in abandoned buildings, or tents, or shacks made from scrap materials, or in their automobiles? What of a divorcing woman with children who can no longer afford rent and who has an offer from her family to "live with us for as long as you need?" Or those who would otherwise be homeless except that they are temporarily housed in prisons, hospitals, or other institutions?

Homelessness Continuum

These examples suggest that homelessness is not (and probably cannot be) a precisely defined condition and therefore does not admit of a precise count. There is, rather, a continuum of housing adequacy or housing stability. A good share of the apparent numbers disparity arises because researchers attempting to count the homeless require very precise definitions (which are by nature exclusive) whereas advocates make do with much looser (and therefore more inclusive) definitions. This is not a matter of fraud so much as the differing end purposes in view.

The number of homeless people on any given night is much smaller than the number of homeless in any given month or over the span of a typical year. The estimated number of homeless can therefore vary enormously depending on the time frame employed. To illustrate, Peter Rossi's survey of the homeless in Chicago (and other recent studies) suggest that the number of persons ever homeless in a year is three or four times the number homeless on any given night.

The Episodic Homeless

The transitory nature of homelessness also implies a very large difference between the number of homeless *incidents* and the number of homeless *people.* Many recent studies have shown that homelessness is often episodic. Many people cycle regularly between being housed and being homeless, often from month to month. How are the episodically homeless to be counted? If one person is homeless six different times in the span of a year, should that add one or six to the annual count?

Mr. Horowitz contrasts the "phony" three million figure with findings from several recent scientific efforts to enumerate the homeless. Without exception, the studies Mr. Horowitz cites are extrapolations of the one-night estimates to annual estimates; the resulting estimated annual incidence would therefore fall between 1.5 million and 2.8 million. Thus, the number of persons experiencing at least one episode of homelessness in an average year in the United States is apparently somewhere in the low millions. In short, taken as an estimate of annual incidence, and making due allowance for the inherent ambiguities of definition, three million is not such a bad guess after all.

James D. Wright
Professor of Human Relations
Tulane University
New Orleans, LA

Rough Estimates Are Good Enough

Dear Sir:

As long as our capacity to respond to homelessness is grossly inadequate, rough estimates of the number of homeless people are sufficient for public policy purposes. We know that homelessness is a devastating experience for thousands of American families and single people. We also know that the origins of homelessness are complex and deeply rooted. Inadequacies in housing supply, weaknesses in our occupational structure, deficient services for the mentally ill, and deterioration of public income support programs all contribute to homelessness.

Because the remedies are expensive and often involve overcoming community opposition, corrective interventions consistently fall far short of need. Where emergency shelter beds are available and accessible, brisk demand is a rough but useful indicator that homelessness remains a serious problem. The continuing visibility of the homeless is sufficient justification for substantial interventions both to meet emergency needs and to correct the underlying problems.

Homeless advocates are not Mr. Horowitz's "irrational social type" engaged in a "McCarthyist game" to hide the truth about homelessness.

—Thomas L. Kenyon

Only when we are prepared to make the massive commitment necessary to assure a decent place to live for everyone, do we need precise estimates of the size of the homeless population.

Francis G. Caro
Director, Research Division
Gerontology Institute
University of Massachusetts
Boston, MA

Carl F. Horowitz responds:

I am dismayed, although not surprised, to encounter a hostility toward and a lack of comprehension of my position.

Mr. Kenyon seems to view dissent from the standard media pronouncements of three million homeless as just so much bickering and diversion. Contrary to his insinuation, I never said in my article or elsewhere that questioning someone's methods for estimating the size or characteristics of the homeless should be a subterfuge for neglect. Nor did I state that all homeless advocates blindly accept the Community for Creative Non-Violence's figure of three million as the benchmark (though far too many have); indeed, I cited a report by Mr. Kenyon's own National Alliance to

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End Homelessness as an example of some of the better research. Mr. Kenyon seems more intent on building a reverential public relations gambit for homeless advocates than on conceding to my modest aim of demonstrating that the most noisy among them—and not simply Mitch Snyder—are those whose proclamations our media quote with barely contained fervor. And many of these people seem increasingly predisposed toward proto-totalitarian tactics in disrupting and harassing public officials, and even rioting, to stifle any public effort to remove even openly drug-using homeless people from public spaces (*e.g.*, lower Manhattan's Tompkins Square Park) no matter how vociferous the complaints about such street people from nearby residents and businessmen.

Equating an unstable residential situation with homelessness is like equating an unstable marriage with a divorce; there is a difference, however much Professor Wright wishes for the reader not to see it.

—Carl F. Horowitz

Professor Hopper wants to discredit my article by pointing out legitimate issues that I was obviously not able to address due to space limitations. By noting the obstacles in developing accurate street-to-shelter ratios, he can more easily crow over how I "ignored" them. Professor Hopper argues that the definition of homelessness should be expanded to include economic marginals who avert life on the streets by doubling up with family, friends, or roommates. A recent report authored by Rutgers University professors David Schwartz and John Glascock, *Combating Homelessness,* using this sort of definition, estimated that there are between 10 and 14 million homeless Americans on top of the ones officially considered homeless. By such a standard, I was among such "homeless" too many times during my student days. That I do not look back on my life then as a victim of cruel government policies must mightily upset such researchers.

A Personal Problem

I concur with Professor Hopper that homelessness often results because officially tallied street people lack any network of family or friends whose help would have made shelter possible. In this sense, homelessness is less a housing problem than a personal one. Restoring deep federal subsidies for housing construction likewise will be of less help than providing certain life skills to the homeless that would compensate for their lack of social ties. The latter is a long-range task, more complicated (though less cathartic) than yelling, "Build Houses, Not Bombs."

Professor Wright, like Professor Hopper, points out ambiguities and complexities inherent in estimating the size and composition of the homeless in order to demonstrate how I failed to appreciate them. And like Professor Hopper, he chooses to define homelessness in a nebulous manner that includes more people who have shelter at a particular point in time than those who do not. Equating an unstable residential situation with homelessness is like equating an unstable marriage with a divorce; there is a difference, however much Professor Wright wishes for the reader not to see it.

Mr. Caro's response is merely a sophisticated restatement of the theme, "What's the difference what the numbers are?" He maintains that since homelessness is a growing problem, crude and even misleading estimates will have to do for the time being. This is sheer nonsense, and the number of remarkably good studies—certainly far superior to the CCNV report that has caused so much malicious damage—attests to the fact that good data can be developed and applied to local homelessness problems. Mr. Caro's response makes me despair over the possibility that reason will one day prevail over collective guilt on this issue. ☎

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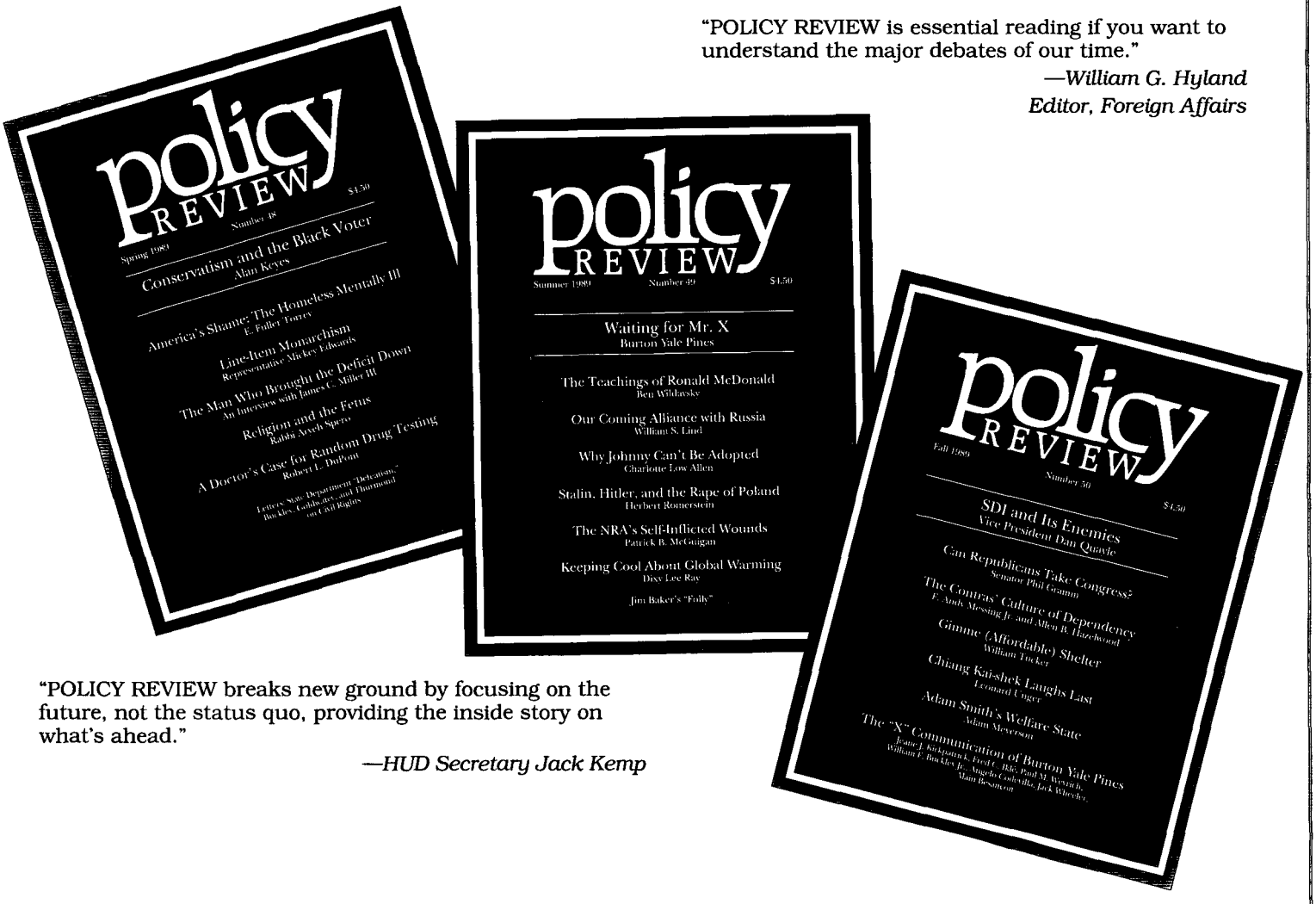

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